

A MAP OF THE KINGDOM



DOM OF ALGIERS.



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A Compleat

HISTORY

Of the present

SEAT of WAR

IN

AFRICA,

Between the

SPANIARDS and ALGERINES;

GIVING

A Full and Exact ACCOUNT of

ORAN and AL-MARSA.

Compiled from the best approved *Spanish* Writers; the Author's Twenty Years Knowledge of the Country; and from diverse late Conferences with HAJ MAHAMMED, the *Algerine* Envoy and HAJ ALI, his Excellency's Secretary, now here Resident.

With a NEW MAP of the Kingdom of ALGIERS; and several Useful Annotations.

By J. MORGAN Gent.

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A Brief Narrative of the Taking Oran and Al-Marfa, by the Algerine Turks.—Some farther Particulars of the OEconomy and Conduct of the Christians (especially of late Years) while possessed of the said Places; and of what Advantage they were to Spain.—What Hand the English are said to have had in their Reduction from the Spaniards; with the Benefits accruing

cruing to our Nation while they were in the Turks Hands.—The most probable Causes of the Spaniards late strange and unexpected Success (if all be true) in this their easy Recovery thereof; as also, how all this mighty Bustle may probably terminate: Including some Account (from the Author's own Knowledge) of Abdi Basha, the present Dey of Algiers, and of Mustafa Bey, late Governor of Oran.

Those who may surmise, “ That all this Affair is quite over; and that the *Spaniards* are now lying with extended Limbs, stretching out themselves at their Ease under their new-recovered *Vines and Fig-Trees*,” will possibly soon find themselves in a no-small Error. And, as I meet with few Persons, of any Curiosity, who are satisfied with what superficial *Accounts* we have hitherto had of these *Places* (and which *Accounts* I must needs say are but very lame, and even unguine) I have endeavoured to give a farther Satisfaction to the Curious; and such a one as, perhaps, they could not have met with elsewhere. I have a Notion, that I am not quite out, in calling those Parts, *The Seat of War*, for such they are very likely to be. If I can procure a good Draught of the *Places* themselves, I will therewith oblige my Readers.

INTRODUCTION.

AS the Eyes of, perhaps, more than the one Half of Mankind, for some preceding Months, have been most attentively on the Gaze after the Motions of this grand *Spanish* Armament, whose surprising, and, indeed, scarce credible Success, is so loudly trumpeted forth by confirmed and re-confirmed Reports, I am applied to, as a Person able to speak somewhat pertinently in the Affair, to give the Public a succinct Account of *Oran* and *Marfa-al-Kebir*; of which Places, on the *Barbary* Coast, the *Spaniards* have, it seems, so suddenly made themselves Masters.

To illustrate our Narrative, and afford a better Idea of the Matter in hand, it may not be amiss for us to cast a Glance higher up towards the Source; in doing which, due Regard shall be had to the Observance of all requisite Brevity.

It is not unknown to such as are conversant with History, That no two Nations in the Universe have a juster Title to call each

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other

other *Old Acquaintance*, nay, *Cousins* (though not *Cater-Cousins*) than have the *Spaniards* and the *Moors* of *Barbary*: And, I dare affirm, that no People under the Sun bear each other a more irradicable Hatred. Nor is it, in a Manner, but of *Yesterday*, that the *Spaniards* have shaken off the *Moorish* Yoke, which grievously gauled their Necks for diverse successive Ages; during which Thralldom, a Cosmographer would have been at a Loss to have found where stood situate the formidable *Spanish* Monarchy, such as our Grandfathers have known it: But sublunary Things are transient, instable, and subject to Mutability!

Very early in the Eighth Century, the then and long-after-triumphant *Saracens*, or *Asiatic Arabs* (having not long before, among other their stupendous Conquests, reduced *Egypt*, and very near all *North-Africa*, or *Barbary*, down to the *Atlantic Ocean*) adventurously passed the *Herculean* Streight in Search of fresh Laurels, and took such firm Footing in *Spain* (at or just by our very individual *Gibraltar*, that Eye-sore to the *Dons*) that it may even now be very well questioned, whether the present *Spanish* Nation has not in its Veins abundantly less of *Gothish* and old *Iberian* Blood, than of *Arabian* and *Mauritanian*.

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The *Saracens* Conquest of *Spain* was incredibly rapid, and almost universal. The wretched Remnant of those *Southern Goths*, pursued close at the Heels by the tempestuous Victors, were glad to seek Shelter in the *Biscayan* and *Asturian* Mountains ; among which rugged and barren Rocks (*and not elsewhere*) in all human Probability, their whole Posterity might have continued pent up even to this Day, had those who drove their Fathers thither, remained unanimous under one Sovereign, as they were while *Cordoua* was the Metropolis of the *Moorish* Empire in *Europe*. But Ambition, that Bane of States, soon inspiring each Governor of a Province to aim at Royalty, diverse independent defenseless Kingdoms sprung up from the Spoils of that so very considerable a Monarchy ; and this Disunion at length occasioned the total Ruin of them all ; the *Christians* being thereby enabled also to erect diverse small Sovereignties, with Regal Titles.

In long Process of Years, the *Spanish* Kings of *Oviedo*, *Leon*, *Castile Old and New*, *Portugal*, *Aragon*, *Navar*, &c. having reduced, one by one, the *Moorish* Kingdoms of *Cordoua*, *Sevilla*, *Toledo*, *Valencia*, *Murcia*, *Baeza*, *Jaen*, *Saragosa*, *Catalonia*, *Mayorca*, with I know not how many others, such of the *Moors* as would not submit to

live ingloriously under a detested Conqueror, whom they very well knew to be no less imperious in Prosperity than themselves, retired for Protection to the only remaining *Mussulman* Sovereign in *Europe*, which was the King of *Granada*, who, possessed of all *Andalusia*, with some other fine contiguous Territories, soon became a considerable Potentate : And that opulent, well cultivated, and extremely populous *Moorish* Kingdom continued Two Hundred and Fifty Years, making a notable Figure, sometimes in Peace, sometimes at War with their *Catholic* Neighbours.

It was brought to its ultimate Period in 1492 ; and then chiefly thro' its own domestic Diffensions, as we learn even from the *Spanish* Historians : *Don Ferdinand*, the *Catholic* King of *Aragon*, having espoused *Dona Isabella*, Heiress of *Castile*, attacked those troublesome Inmates with the united Strength of his own and his Royal Consort's Crowns ; and after a sore Struggle, had the desired Success. And to these most *Catholic* Princes it is, that the Grand *Spanish* Monarchy owes all its succeeding Grandure ; the *Christian* World is obliged for the *Holy Office* of the *Inquisition* ; and these Realms were to them indebted for our *Catholic* Queen *Mary*, they being her Grand-Parents
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by her Mother, who was, I take it, their Second Daughter.

Granada being thus reduced, *A. D.* 1492. some Hundreds of Thousands of *Moorish* Families accepted the Conditions offered them, and became Subjects of the *Castilian* Crown.* History informs us, that those Conditions granted them were reasonable enough, at least very tolerable, had they been well observed: But how they were observed, the World has seen. Probable it is, that the vanquished *Moriscoes* might have remained good Subjects of the Kings of *Spain*, had not that zealous *Catholic* Church, according to its laudable Custom, been so super-abundantly solicitous for the Welfare of their Souls, that (tho' directly contrary to all Articles of Surrendry, most solemnly stipulated, and yet extant) her pious Ministers, the *Inquisitors*, ceased not racking their own fertile Inventions, to study such Tortures to inflict on the Bodies of their new Fellow-Subjects, as those good Soul-salvers imagined to approach nearest to what the *better Parts* of those *Infidels* must otherwise undergo hereafter to all Eternity. As to all other Oppressions and Indignities, grievous as they were, the *Moors* seemed to endure them patiently enough, as being no

* See the Case of the *Moriscoes*, or *Spanish Moors*, in the Second Volume of *Mahometism Explained*.

very great Novelty to them, the Generality of their own Princes being oppressive Tyrants: But as incurable Abominators of whatever favours of Idolatry, or Image-Worship, with all the rest of that *Romish* Trumpery, they could not endure the Thoughts of having any of that crammed down their Throats. Long they endured, and much; when unable to endure longer, they raised a furious and most obstinate Rebellion, of long Continuance, and various Success. Thousands of them perished in the Flames, and Multitudes by the Sword, and other Deaths. Quelled at last, the Survivors were all compelled to say, at least, they were obedient Sons of Holy Mother Church, and so continued till their general Expulsion, which anon shall be touched upon. To return:

On the other Hand, immediately after the Reduction of *Granada*, very many Thousands of the better-spirited *Moors* generously disdaining to live abject Vassals to a hated Enemy, over whom their victorious Ancestors had so long lorded it, laid hold on the offered Occasion, and crossed over into *Barbary*. The Bulk of the Nobility and Gentry chose to follow the Fortunes of their pusillanimous King, *Boabdellin*, who retired to the Court of his Kinsman the King of *Fez*, or *Fess*, in the chief Towns of which Kingdom their Descendants are now the principal Citizens,

Citizens. Of this last King of *Granada* it is recorded, that he quitted the City weeping bitterly : Which observed by his Queen, she said ; “ It does not misbecome you, like a Woman, to weep the Loss of what you wanted Courage, like a Man, to defend ! ” The Remnant of those voluntary Exiles planted themselves all along the Maritime Coasts of *Africa*, meditating Vengeance ; nor can it be said of them, or their Posterity, that they ever let slip a favourable Opportunity of paying off any of their old Scores.

The Potentates of that Northern Division of the large *African* Continent, viz. the Kings of *Fess*, *Tremizan*, and *Tunis*, had then very little, if any Navigation of their own ; but carried on a very brisk Trade with the *Venetians*, *Genoueses*, *Tuscans*, *Ragufans*, and other *Italians*, who had then ingrossed in a Manner all Commerce : And I am inclined to fancy, that the huge *Argosies*, we so frequently find some of our old Authors making mention of, were no other than the *Ragusan* Traders. This being merely a private Conjecture of my own, I say no more of it ; nor has it much Business in this Place, tho', as I remember, I took Notice of it somewhere in my *History of Algiers*.

It was not long before these *Moors* had crouded most of the Ports on the *Barbary* Shores with small and nimble Row-Boats,

or Quarter-Gallies : This little Sea-Rover the *Moors* call *Fregata*, and the *Europeans* a *Brigantine* : Nor had the *African* Coasts any larger *Corfairs*, till a few *Years* after the *Turks* brought with them *Galeots*, of which Vessels they afterwards had whole Fleets ; and the biggest of their *Galeots* might well enough pass for Gallies, they carrying forty-eight Oars. These Brigantines (which are still in Use, though fewer than formerly) carry from fourteen to twenty-six Oars ; and with which incredible Damages have been continually done to the *Christians* on the Coasts and Islands within and without the *Mediterranean*, ever since the Conquest of *Granada* ; for their Maritime Parts were before undisturbed.

Besides the Difference in Force and Bulk between these *Brigantines* and the *Galeots*, they differ in this ; That whereas the Rowers in *Gallies* and *Galeots* are generally Slaves, and chained down to the Oar, the *Brigantine* is rowed by the *Corfairs* themselves, who all go very well armed, and handle their Oars or Weapons as Occasion offers. Two or three of these Row-Boats in a Calm will attack, and too often carry a pretty large Merchant Ship. But when they go to rob ashore, their Manner is this : They keep out at Sea a good Distance, and then pull in a main, chusing the dark Nights. Their
Boat

Boat they drag into some Creek they are acquainted with ; and leaving a few Hands to look to it, and secure their Retreat, if attacked and pursued, the Majority hasten away, with all convenient Silence, in Quest of Booty, frequently several Miles up into the Country, and rarely come away quite empty-fisted. The main Prey they hunt for is Slaves ; not that we are to suppose, that in Case any other valuable and portable Matters fall in their Way, they are so squeamish as to come away without it. If they take not Land where there is a convenient Creek to receive and conceal their Vehicle, but on the open Strand, as abundance of them do, then their Method is, as at other Times, to row Ashore in the dark, and bury in the Sand their Boats, Oars and all, and without leaving one of their Equipage behind them, speed on towards the Place they have in their Eye. Many Times a little Squadron of these *Brigantines* have got clear off with the People and best Plunder of a whole large Village ; and, indeed, a single Boat seldom atcheives any very great Exploits. This Trade is still carried on, tho' with incomparably less Briskness than heretofore. The chief Causes whereof are these : As the *Christians* are now abundantly more on their Guard than formerly, I mean upon their Coasts, the *Barbarians* have almost

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quite disused their Row-Vessels of every Kind, and build only Ships, of all Burdens; and I am informed by the *Algerines* now here, that they have in hand, and almost finished, four very large Ships, one of which carries at least eighty Guns, and the others very little under. These, they say, are to face the *Malteses*, the only Enemy they do really dread. A second Cause is, That since there have been none remaining of the original *Moriscoes*, namely, those who were actually born and bred in *Spain*, none are so capable of conducting a Body of Corsairs even to the very Doors of those they design to plunder and enslave; nor have they the Lurking-Places where to conceal themselves secure for several Days, nay, Weeks and Months together, till they might conveniently give their Blow, as they had before the last Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, in the Years 1609, and 1610, when the whole Sea-Coast was chiefly inhabited by those constrained *Christians*. As to this memorable Expulsion, which drained the *Spanish* Continent of more than six hundred thousand Families, of almost the only industrious Inhabitants she can boast of, I only say, with many others, that it was not only a Piece of very bad Policy, but a very unjustifiable Action; since the worst Crimes that could justly be laid at their Doors, were, their not being extraordinary

traordinary good *Catholics*, notwithstanding the fiery Zeal of the *Inquisitors* to force them so to be ; and that some few of them held Correspondence with their Kindred on the opposite Shore. The known Delinquents might have been legally tried, and punished, without eradicating a whole Nation, several Thousands of whom were doubtless very innocent, as dwelling a hundred or two of Miles distant from any Sea-Coast. Nor was there the least Movement towards a Revolt ; and yet were there not many and many Thousands of them destroyed in cold Blood ? Commend this, and abundance more such *Catholic* Proceedings, who will ; I cannot. But once more to return :

No sooner were those *Spanish Moors* (I mean they who first went over) well settled along the Coasts of *Barbary*, but they became really a most insupportable Nufance to all their *Christian* Neighbours, especially to the *Spaniards*, their *quondam* Compatriots. The chief Ports they went over to were *Algiers*, *Sbershel*, *Oran*, and *Titouan*, within the Streights, and *Sillah*, or *Salley* without, on the Ocean : And the chief Place for building their *Fregatas*, or *Brigantines*, such as I have in part described them, was *Sbershel*, about twenty Leagues West of *Algiers*, whose Mountains produce abundance of Timber fit for that Purpose. Not

to say much here of those who settled farther Eastward, at *Binzert*, or *Biserta*, and *Gar-al-Melba*, or *Porto Farino*, and some other Maritime Places of the now Kingdom of *Tunis* (and, who carrying with them a like Spirit of Revenge, followed the same Trade with the rest) the Reader may conclude them doing their utmost to scourge the *Sicilians*, *Calabrians*, &c. *Salley* and *Titouan*, being Parcel of the Kingdom of *Fefs* (tho' they both have sometimes been, as it were, independent Republics) with some other Ports of that Realm, the only Mention I shall make of them, is, That they took up the same Calling, followed it closely, and we are to suppose them all along doing what Mischief they could to *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, and to all others they suspected to be such, and they could master. The Reader is also to take it for granted, that there were not any *Turks* in *Barbary* till several Years after; so that those he is to conclude me chiefly treating of, are the *Moors* who went from *Spain*, and settled at *Algiers*, *Sherfshel*, and *Oran*, in the now Kingdom of *Algiers* (so called) but then of *Tremizan*.

These *Moors*, as native *Spaniards*, were as well acquainted with the Country their Business lay in, as could be desired. Disguised like real *Spaniards*, and wanting not Language, they glided over in Shoals, and,

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in short, played the Devil, as *Haedo*, and many other grave *Spanish* Writers, very movingly complain. They wanted not Reception in the Villages of their *Morisco* Brethren, among whom they lay concealed very commodiously, waiting for Intelligence and proper Opportunities to seize a Booty worth transporting. Sometimes a whole Squadron of *Brigantines* have laid buried in the Sands several Weeks together, while their Equipages have remained making merrry with their Friends and Relatives Ashore. It has indeed happened, that the *Spaniards* have had good Noses, and found out this subterraneous Fleet; and then great Search has been doubtless made after the Owners. The *Barbary* Natives, allured with beholding what Spoils the *Christian* Shores afforded, were not backward in giving into that Sort of gainful *Trading*; and the *Spaniards* were so infested, that even those a considerable Way up in the Country durst not venture to sleep in their Beds; and as for the Coasts, they were in perpetual Alarms. I take it, they had not then any of the Watch-Towers which are now to be seen thereabouts.

It became the Business of both *Moor* and *Spaniard* to study each other's *Villaquerias*, I mean their Tricks and Stratagems. The *Spaniards* thus harrassed in their very
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Houses,

Houses the whole Year round, Winter and Summer, would keep Guard in Bands, from Sun-set to Morning, lying close near all the Roads and Passes, at a small Distance from a Rope, with little Bells fastened to it, and drawn tight across the Way ; at the least Touch whereof they would rush out and seize all they met with : By which Means, many *Moors* have made but a bad Voyage from *Barbary* thither, especially such Pilferers as have ventured over with a single Boat. But it has been often known, that a large Company of them have got in as well as they could out of the Roads, and forced their Way back again with incredible Prizes of Wealth and Captives ; all which they have carried clean off, tho' before they have been out of Musquet-Shot, several Hundreds of Pursuers, Horse and Foot, have been more than half-way up in the Water firing at them. We cannot suppose but abundance of those have miscarried ; but mostly, I say, when any of them make a Voyage singly. Of at least a Dozen built in one Year, while I was at *Algiers*, I remember scarce two returned from the first Expedition, being either taken at Sea, way-laid Ashore, or cast away.

Another cunning Fetch the *Spaniards* had to way-lay the *Moors*, or *Moriscoes*, if they durst be stroling about in *Spanish* Dresses,

Dresses by Day-Light, was to call out to all suspicious Passengers very hastily, in the right *Arab* Tone and Accent, *Ya Mahammed! Ya Mahammed!* As it is natural to look about when we hear ourselves so called by Name, and *that* being one of the commonest Proper-Names among those Nations, abundance have so been caught, and taken good Care of accordingly. I cannot but observe here, That of all People I have met with, none pronounce worse the *Arabic* than the *Spaniards*; nor did I ever hear one, who began not very young to learn, who could pronounce it well, or even tolerably: Which is not a little to be wondered at of a People who are such *old Acquaintance* of the *Arabs* and *Moors*, and who have in their own Language such a Torrent of Gutturals, with so great a Multitude of Words of mere *Arab* Origin. But I must not digress thus, nor be over and above particular, lest I too much swell my Narrative.

The *Spanish* Historians, in general, inform us, That those insufferable Depredations and Insults of the *Moors*, excited the *Catholic* King, *Don Ferdinand*, to begin seriously to think on the *Conquest* of *Africa*, as those Writers please to word it. As no Places brought greater Detriment to his said *Catholic* Majesty's Subjects than *Oran*, with its most spacious and commodious Port *Marsa-*
al-Kebir,

al-Kebir, those were the Parts first attacked with Success by the *Catholic* Forces.

Having premised thus much, for which, tho' some *Curiosi* may thank me, others may, perhaps, think it tedious, or foreign to the Subject, I hasten to the Description of these Places in Question. My Guide and main Assistant herein, and in several other Matters, is * *Luis del Marmol*, a very particular, intelligent, and much-approved Writer, seeming generally to speak as an Eye-Witness.

* See the *Granada* Edition, 1573. Vol. II. Book v. Chap. 18. Fol. 193 & seq.



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DESCRIPTION

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Al-Marfa al-Kebir.

WHY I describe this Place before *Oran*, its Principal, is because it was first taken from the *Moors*. Whimsical enough it really is, to hear how our mere *English* pronounce this barbarous *Mazalquivir* of the *Spaniards*. The true Name, as I give it above, is no other than the *Arabic* Translation of its ancient *Roman* Appellation, *Portus Magnus*, the *Great Port*: And as *Turks*, *Arabs*, and *Moors* themselves very seldom, if ever, call it any otherwise than simply: *Al-Marfa*, or *The Port*, by Way of Excellency (as being allowed to be the best and most capacious one in all *Africa*) I shall likewise so call it. *Marmol*, and all the *Spaniards* affirm, That a very great *Armada* of Ships and Gallies may conveniently ride therein, secure from all Injuries from Sea or

D Winds.

Winds. While *Oran*, and this its fine Port, appertained to the Kings of *Tremizan*, it was much frequented by the *Venetian* Galeasses, and abundance of other *Christian* Traders, who thence in Barks conveyed their Merchandize to *Oran*, where they carried on a very considerable Commerce with the Merchants of *Tremizan*, and other inland Places: So that this Town, or rather Citadel, seems merely to have been built for the Defense of that noble Harbour.

My said Author says, it was founded by the *Romans* on the Spot where it now stands: And, according to him, *Ptolomy* places it in 12 Degrees, 48 Minutes of Longitude, and 34 Degrees, 30 Minutes of Latitude. By Situation it lies elevated high on a solid unminable Rock, over-looking the Port, and is, in a manner, quite surrounded with a lofty Mountain, so very craggy, that the Town is not, without great Difficulty, to be approached by any other Way, than by the narrow uneven Passage which leads thither from *Oran*: Which Pass, or Defile, is by the *Spaniards* called *La Silla de Oran*. From *Oran* it is about a League to the West. On the North Side, where the Sea beats on the Wall-Foot, above the Port, are two large square Towers. Following the Town-Wall, which is of a considerable Thickness, and made of
Lime

Lime and Gravel, one comes to a round Tower, named by the *Spaniards La Campana*, or the *Bell*. Still passing on along by the Wall, it brings us to a great Platform; but before we reach thither, in the Angle formed by two Sides of the Wall, we meet with a strong square Tower, which defends those Traverses; and farther on, in the Angle below the Town-Gate, is another square Tower at the Part called *La Mar Loca*. At the Entrance into the Town are also two large square Towers, where are the Governor's Lodgings, which you go into by three Gates. Fronting the Sea is a very ancient Wall, [probably the original *Roman* one; the other I take to have been since done by the Natives,] having four square Towers, the Sides of all which are washed by the *Mediterranean*. Over this Wall is a large antique Bulwark, or Bastion.

The strong *Spanish* Fort, *San Miguel*, on a lofty Eminence, rugged, and not easy of Access, about six hundred Paces West of the Town, was built about the Middle of the sixteenth Century, and made a notable Defense against the whole Power of the *Algerines* and their Auxiliaries, tho' not then quite finished: Of which somewhat may be said anon.

This was the Condition of *Al-Marfa* when *Marmol* wrote: And I believe it to

be now rather better than worse; for both the *Spaniards* and *Algerines* kept it always in good Repair. The Walls of this Town, Fortress, or Citadel, call it which you will, are of a considerable Circumference, tho' I cannot herein be particular: But I have often heard it debated, that the Place, with its Fortifications, to garison them well, would require at least 5, or 6000 Men; all which should be Infantry, there being little or no Use to be made of Cavalry. Let us now proceed to describe *Oran*. *Marmol* is still my Guide, from whom I take only what is most needful.

DESCRIPTION of WAHARAN, or ORAN.

THIS is a City of very great Antiquity, founded by the natural *Africans*, in the same Ground it now stands on, about a Stone's Throw from the *Mediterranean*. Anciently, in Time of the *Romans*, it was named *Unica Colonia*, tho' some will have it to be *Basbaria*. Its Longitude is 12 Degrees, 30 Minutes; its Latitude about 34 Degrees. It lies North, somewhat Easterly, twenty *Spanish* Leagues from the City of *Tremizan*, long the Capital of a very ancient and flourishing Kingdom. *Cartagena* in *Spain* is almost its Opposite. *Oran* has been esteemed one of the wealthiest and most

most beautiful Cities of all *Mauritania Cesariensis*. It is situated partly on even Ground, and partly on the Side of a very rugged Mountain. Over the highest Part of the City is a strong old Castle; and above it another Castle much more ancient, called *La Alcasaba Vieja*, or the *Old Citadel*; and fronting this is a Bastion over a very high Wall, which the *Moors* call *Al Jibel*, i. e. *The Mountain*; and this the *Christians* have fortified with Towers, &c. On the other Side of a River, distant from the City about a thousand Paces, is another Castle, named *Ras-al-Cassar*, i. e. *The Head of the Palace*, situated on an Eminence which commands the City, and discovers the whole spacious Plain, even to the Place from whence spring the Waters. In this Castle are two large *Cupalas*, and between them a Ravelin, or Platform, broad enough for the Artillery to be easily drawn along it on their Carriages: To the Sea-ward it has a Postern, or False-Gate, and another towards the Land; and round it a Ditch ten Yards deep, and six in Breadth. This Castle was built by the Count *Don Pedro Navarro*, soon after Cardinal *Ximenes* took the City. *Oran* has only two Gates; one towards the South, called *Tremizan Gate*, and the other, named *Canastel Gate*, faces the East. Some Parts of this City Walls have

have a Ditch, and others not, occasioned by its standing, as was observed, partly on the Side of a Mountain. This is the Substance of what *Marmol* has most to our Subject, as to the Description of *Oran* : But as in some few Particulars he is, to me, scarce intelligible, and wants Explanation, with some Additions, as he wrote so many Years before these Times, the following *Eclaircissements* being the best I am able to give, may not be unnecessary.

I never was in the Town; but was once before it in the *Algerine* Camp; not that which took it from the *Spaniards*, but a much smaller one, which, three or four Years before, *called* there, to get what they could from the *Dons*, to save their then ripening Corn, which otherwise would have been fired standing. This was customary. From the incamping Place on the fine Plain, no Part of the Town does appear, except a very little on the Left, towards the East, above which, a great Way down the Hill, is very conspicuous the Castle called *Borj le Houdi* by the *Moors*, i. e. *The Jew's Castle*, and *San Gregorio* by the *Spaniards*. This must needs be the *strong old Castle* which my Author speaks of. On the Mountain-Top, high above this other Castle, is also wholly in Sight that *old Citadel* he mentions; and I am at a Loss to study why
he

he calls it as he does : The *Moors* call it *Merjejo*, and the *Spaniards* by no other Name than *Santa Cruz* : Nor can I imagine how the *Moors* should call a *Wall* and a *Bastion*, a *Mountain* ; indeed, they all are on a Mountain.

Ras-al-Cassar appears likewise on the Eminence, which conceals the rest of the City. To repulse the *Algerines*, who had several Times attacked the City, the *Spaniards* built modernly (I cannot inform myself when, and have really forgot *which* is *which*) two very good Castles, at a pretty considerable Distance from the Foot of the said Eminence, down on the Plain. They are called *San Andreas*, and *San Felipe* : The *Moors* call them *Borj-al-Ahamar*, and *Borj-al-Aioun*, i. e. *The Red Castle*, and *The Castle of the Fountains*. I have some Cause to remember one of these *Spanish* Castles ; for venturing myself one Day where I had no manner of Business among some *Moorish* Cavalry, whom nothing would serve, but they needs must go and cut a few *Caprioles* somewhat too near under the *Spaniards* Noses : Hereupon they gave us a Volley, or Broad-side, which, tho' it cost us no Blood, yet they soundly scared us, and myself in particular. One of the great Shot struck just between my Mare's Legs, making her kneel down, and so choaked and blinded

blinded me with a Cloud of Dust, that it was not presently that I could certify myself that my Mare and I had escaped so well as we did. A Day or two after, a rash *Fanizary* (properly *Tenghi-sheri*) had also still more Reason than either my Mare or self to remember the said Castle, which is that on the Right, towards the West; for a Band of *Turkish* Infantry being advanced that Way, to succour a Party of their *Arab* Cavalry, whom a stronger Troop of the Enemies were hotly pursuing, and a Ball, from a long Culverin, leaping along cross the Plain, he took a Fancy to quit his Rank, and run to stop or kick at it. He did so, but down he fell roaring. I saw him in the Camp, under a Surgeon's Hands, with half his Right Foot. The Ball was likewise brought thither; and, if I rightly recollect so long since, it was a twenty-four Pounder. Not that I can say, I saw the Fact; but so it was generally reported. These trifling Passages, tho' of very little Signification to a Reader, may at least satisfy him, that I am not, like too many, pretending to discourse about what I know nothing at all of. The Indulgent will excuse my Digression.

There is a Castle near the Town, of which I have heard the *Moors* talk much; and this they Name *Borj-al-Mizeyrac*, i. e.

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The Castle of the Lances ; against the Walls whereof all *Moors* (how much allied soever they were to the *Spaniards*) were obliged to leave their Lances; the *Spanish* Governours never admitting any of them into the Town armed. As none of the *Algerines* I have here discoursed with, give me any satisfactory Account in that Particular, and I took little Care to inquire about it while in the Country, I can say no more, but that if it be not one of the small Forts, or rather Look-outs, of which one may see two or three not worthy much Notice, I take it to be *Ras-al-Cassar* ; and the rather, because I do not remember to have heard any but *Spaniards* call the said Castle by that Name, tho' the Words are purely *Arabic*.

As to the rest, *Oran* is an open Road, where Ships can ride only at a good Distance off at Sea, when the Weather is very good ; none but Small-Craft can come close to the Town. The City, whatever it may have been, is now but small, scarce half so big as *Algiers* ; which, tho' but about a League in its whole Circumference (nor has it at present any Suburbs worth mentioning) is excessively populous, having very little lost Room within its Walls. *Oran* is not so ; and has some good Public Buildings in it, with several vast Places, as I have been informed. The usual Garison

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kept

kept there by the *Spaniards*, when they had least to fear, was a thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, *Moors* excepted; and the Families of other Inhabitants scarce exceeded one thousand. The *Turks* kept the whole in very good Repair, and had made several Improvements, which I shall not go about to particularize.

I next proceed to speak of the Manner how these Places fell into the *Spaniards* Hands. *Marmol*, says (*a propos* enough to what I hinted in my *Introduction*) That notwithstanding this City of *Oran* was always properly appertaining to the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, it was frequently in a manner a State independent, and was, as it were, a free City during the Wars between the *Beni Merins*, Kings of *Fess*, and the *Beni Zeyens*, Kings of *Tremizan*: For tho' the King of this last State had his *Duana*, or Custom-house there, and Officers to collect the Port-Duties, &c. yet would not the Inhabitants ever consent that he should send them a Governor, but they annually elected one of their own Citizens, with a Power to administer Justice, both Civil and Criminal, without Appeal; and for Assistants in Affairs of the Common-weal, he had assigned him a certain Number of Deputies. In this Manner *Oran* was governed when it was taken by the *Christians*. Being in this flourishing Condition

Condition (and well it might flourish, having long been the least molested City or Town in all *Barbary*) certain of its Citizens [apparently the *Spanish Moors*] took it into their Heads to build and fit out Cruisers, having the Conveniency of the fine Port of *Al-Marsa*; and sending them out to ravage the *Christian* Coasts, so excessive were the Damages they did on the Coasts of *Spain*, and in the Islands *Mayorca*, *Minorca* and *Iviza*, that there was a Necessity of fitting out the *Armada* with which the *Alcayde de los Donzeles* went against *Al-Marsa*; from whence also proceeded the Loss of *Oran*.

But before we come to that, I think proper to advance a Passage previous thereunto from the same Author, which I the rather do, as it gives Account of the first Attack I find made upon any of these Parts by the *Christians*. He says,

A. D. 1501. Al-Marsa being then in the Hands of the *Moors*, the King of *Portugal*, *Don Manoel*, ordered the Commanders of the *Armada*, which he was sending to the Assistance of the *Venetians*, that in their Way they should attack, and take that Town; which done, they should leave there a Garrison, and then prosecute their Voyage. [Does not this sound like *Reckoning without the Host*?] Which *Armada* being arrived in that Neighbourhood, and meeting with

contrary Winds and bad Weather, they were three Days beating up and down before the Port, waiting a good Occasion to take Land; during which the Fleet being discovered from Shore, and the Inhabitants, apprehensive of what they might be, garisoned their Town with a great Number of Foot, and three hundred Horse from *Oran*. These Forces lay very quiet till the *Portugueses* were landed, and observing them to keep no Order, and that some of them had marched up the Hill, to make Discoveries above in the Mountain, they sallied out suddenly, and setting on the *Christians* from several Quarters, utterly routed them, killing, wounding, and making Prisoners of abundance of them; and such as could escape, got away to their Ships, which immediately set Sail and departed, leaving the *Pagans* victorious, and very joyful at their good Success.

When and how AL-MARSA fell into the Hands of the SPANIARDS.

FIVE Years after, viz. A. D. 1506. *Don Diego de Cordova, Alcaide de los Donzeles*, was sent against this Town with a fine Army from *Castile*, in which went abundance of Nobility and prime Gentry. He besieged and battered it very briskly. The *Moors* made a very good Defense, and did great Damage to the Besiegers with a smart

smart Piece of Artillery : But *Don Diego* ordering a Gunner, named *Fuente Aguinal*, to plant a Culverin against it, and do his utmost to either break, or dismount it, he so well observed his Orders, that at the very first Firing, his Ball struck just in the Mouth of that murdering *Lombard*, and not only split that, but killed the Person who fired it. Immediately thereupon, the *Moors* being dismayed, they capitulated with *Don Diego*, who suffered them to go with their Families whither they thought fit ; and accordingly the Place remained in free Possession of the *Christians*. *Marmol* says only this, as to the taking of the Place : But he goes on in Words to the following Purport ; of all which Father *Mariano*, the *Jesuit*, who is more particular, with Regard to the Conquest of it (as will presently appear) takes no Manner of Notice.

Afterwards the *Alcayde de los Donzeles*, residing in *Al-Marfa*, had Intelligence by his Spies, That there was a considerable Incampment of *Arabs* about two Leagues off, at a Place called *Marfa Ferbin*, from whom he might get a very great Booty. *Don Diego*, leaving a sufficient Garison in the Town, marched out by Night with the rest, and by Day-break fell upon the Incampment, whom taking unawares, he plundered, captivating abundance of People, and driving

driving away very great Numbers of Cattle of all Sorts. This would certainly have been a most successful Expedition to him, had not ill Fortune imbittered his Victory with a most lamentable Overthrow : For advancing homewards with this great Prize, his Cavalry would needs take a View of *Oran* ; on Sight whereof the *Moorish* Horse (to the Number of eight hundred Lances, fine Troops) made a Sally in order to skirmish with them : When perceiving the *Christians* to be embarrassed with their Booty, they attacked the whole Body from diverse Quarters, forcing them back as far as the Mountain called *La Tinaja*, where began a fierce Engagement, in which *Don Diego* was compelled personally to make the best Use he could of his Hands, and fight stoutly for his Life : And his Horse being killed under him, he had inevitably been lost, had he not been preserved by the Love and Generosity of a faithful Page of his, who supplied him with his own Horse, himself remaining on Foot ; by which Means the *Alcayde* escaped, and the Page was killed by the Enemy. This was a very disastrous Encounter, wherein perished abundance of noble Cavaliers ; and the *Moors*, having recovered all the Prize, very joyfully returned to *Oran*. The *Alcayde de los Donzeles*, excessively fatigued, got back to *Al-Marfa* : And, not long after,

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leaving, as his Deputy, Captain *Don Martin de Argote*, a *Cordouese* Gentleman, he passed over into *Spain*; from whence he afterwards returned to take up his Residence at *Al-Marsa*.

Perhaps * *F. Mariana* thought this not worth mentioning. The Bulk of what he does say, is this: The Arch-Bishop of † *Toledo*, was scarce ever from his *Catholic* Majesty's Side. This Prelate was a Person of great Courage, and of Thoughts far above the mean Estate in which he had been brought up. With great Instances he persuaded the King, and even in the Queen's Life-time, that when the *Neapolitan* Wars were concluded, he would commence a War upon the *Moors* in *Barbary*. This Business advanced so far, that the King gave Orders, that good Part of the *Spaniards* he had in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to finish those Affairs, should return to *Spain*; and they did so. On another Hand, the Count *de Tendilla* made an Offer; "That in case his Majesty would consign over to him the Sum of Forty ‡ *Cuentos* of *Maravedis*, to deliver to him, ready conquered to his Hand,

* See the *Madrid* Edition, 1678. Tome II. Fol. 259.

† Cardinal *Francisco Ximenes*.

‡ I must request some of our good Accomptants, to inform the Public how much that Sum may amount to in *English* Coin; it being somewhat out of my Latitude.

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“ the City of *Oran*, with its Port of *Mazal-*
 “ *quivir*, and other neighbouring Places :
 “ And that if there remained any Overplus
 “ of that Money, he would return the same
 “ to the King ; and if it should not be suf-
 “ ficient, he would supply it out of his
 “ own Purse.” This Agreement, which
 was in good Forwardness, came to nothing
 by the Queen’s Demise : But that the Scheme
 might not quite be laid aside, nor the *Neapo-*
litan Soldiery be left unemployed, the Arch-
 Bishop lent his Majesty Eleven *Cuentos* to
 help out the Charges. With this Money a
 good *Armada* was got ready on the *Andulu-*
sian Coasts ; first with Intention of taking
 Possession of *Tedellis*, a Maritime Place be-
 tween *Algiers* and *Bujeya*, to which Pur-
 pose a Sort of Treaty was in Agitation :
 But afterwards, on understanding it not to
 be a Place of any great Importance, or worth
 the keeping, it was agreed to attack *Al-*
Marsa, [for so I shall only call it:] It is
 near *Oran*, opposite to the City of *Almeria*,
 tho’ somewhat more to the Eastward. When
 the *Armada* was ready, consisting of Six
 Gallies, with a great Number of Caravels
 and other Vessels, in which went a Body of
 Troops five thousand strong, (under the
 Conduct of *Don Diego Fernandez de Cor-*
dona, *Alcayde de los Donzeles*, a most va-
 lorous Cavalier, who was nominated Captain-
 General

General of the Expedition) on *Friday* the 29th of *August* 1506, set sail from *Malaga*. The Charge of all Marine Affairs was committed to the Care of *Don Ramon de Cardona*. The Wind being contrary, they were, for some Time, forced to turn back to the Port of *Almeria*. Thence, on the 11th of *September*, they all arrived at *Al-Marfa*. The Point of that Port had a Bastion, with good Store of Artillery, several Towers and Traverses; under which entered our *Armada*. Their Landing was opposed by one hundred and fifty Horse, and three thousand Foot: The Landing-Place not good, and the Day tempestuous. All these Difficulties were overcome by the undaunted Resolution of the *Christians*. The first who leaped ashore was *Pedro Lopez Zagal*, a very valiant Soldier. They fought with the *Moors*, and at length forced them to retire away to *Oran*; and only four hundred *Moorish* Foot remained in the Town of *Al-Marfa*. Our Men attacked them; and at the Beginning of the Fight, the first great Shot killed the *Alcayde* of the Place, together with many others, and dismounted the best Artillery they had. Disheartened at this, the *Moors* surrendered on Conditions, the third Day; and the Banners of *Spain* were set up in that Fortress. Two Things fell out very fortunately on our Side: One was

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the Detention of our *Armada*: For no sooner was it known to have left *Malaga*, but very great Multitudes of *Moors* came swarming to those Coasts; but having waited eight Days, thro' Want of Provisions, and on hearing our Fleet was intended for a different Quarter, they all dispersed. The other was, That the very Day on which the Fortrefs surrendered, a prodigious Swarm of *Moors* arrived, by Way of the Mountain, to succour the Besieged, and must infallibly have done us infinite Damages, had not they come so late. These joined with the Troops of *Oran*, and came seemingly with the Design of fighting the *Christian* Army: However, they durst not face them, notwithstanding *Don Diego* drew out his Forces in proper Array, offering them Battel. Only a few Skirmishes happened with such of our People as went out for Wood, &c. The Lieutenantcy of this Place was given, with Title of Captain-General of the *Barbary-Conquests*, to the *Alcayde de los Donzeles*: And *Don Ramon de Cardona* returned to *Malaga* with the *Armada*, the 24th of the same *September*. The Garison of this Fortrefs soon concluded a Truce with those of *Oran*, that they might trade with each other; which was of very great Advantage to the *Moors*, to prevent their losing the Commerce of the East, which was communicated to them

them by Means of the *Venetian Galeasses*, which brought to that Port, and to all other Maritime Parts of *Africa*, *Spain*, *France*, *Flanders*, &c. the Spices, &c. which they loaded at *Alexandria*. Great was the Reputation his *Catholic Majesty* gained by this Enterprize; since, not contented with what he had atchieved in *Italy*, he had bent his Thoughts to the Conquest of *Africa*, and the Advancement of the *Christian Name*. True it is, that some maliciously surmised, that he amassed his Forces, indeed, under that Colour, tho' his real Designs were not against the *Infidels*, but in order to oppose his Son-in-Law,* in case he offered to come into *Castile*, and take from him the Administration. The Arch-Bishop, with so good a Beginning, was much encouraged to assist and push on so pious an Undertaking, and even to expend in it a good Portion of his Revenue; nay, he was so sanguine and cordial in the Matter, that he even determined in Person to pass over into *Africa*, the better to animate that Conquest; and he actually did so not long after.

Thus we have seen the Accounts, given of the Reduction of this important Place, by Two of the best-approved *Spanish Writers*.

* *Philip of Austria*, or *Philip I. King of Spain*. He was Son of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and Father to *Charles V. Emperor and King of Spain*.

From them, and others of that Nation, *L'Abbé de Bellegarde* (in his *Histoire Générale d'Espagne*, Tome VI.) has borrowed all this, as also the taking of *Oran*; and is still more particular, with some Flourishes apparently his own, and diverse *Pseudo-Chronisms*. We must now turn to *Marmol*, and then again have Recourse to our *Jesuit*, for Confirmation. But we are not to forget, that they are both *Spaniards*.

How and when WAHARAN, or ORAN, was taken from the MOORS by the SPANIARDS.

THREE Years (says *Marmol*) after the *Alcayde de los Donzeles* had reduced the Town of *Al-Marsa*, Cardinal *Ximenes*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, went personally against *Oran* with a great *Armada*, carrying abundance of the Nobility and prime Cavaliers of *Castile*; the Captain-General whereof was Count *Pedro Navarro*. This Enterprize was judged to be much more difficult than it really proved: For the *Alcayde de los Donzeles*, *Don Diego*, then at *Al-Marsa*, had already agreed with a certain Jew, named *Citorra*, and with two *Moors*, one named *Aisa al Oreybi*, and the other *Aben Canesha* (the King of *Tremizan's* Rent-gatherers at *Oran*) who had Charge

Charge of the Gates, that they should deliver him up the City; for which Service he had promised them great Recompence.

Here I must observe, That *Mariana* has not a Syllable of this, as will presently appear; and in the Room of it, tho' in most other Matters he affects a singular Conciseness, he puts into this martial Cardinal's Mouth a florid Oration, delivered at the Army-Head. I do not say, that this learned *Jesuit* made the said Speech (which you shall also have by-and-by) for his said Eminence of *Toledo*; but I cannot help admiring, how it came to be omitted by the verbose *Marmol*, one who is not frequently guilty of such Over-sights, and one who wrote so much nearer the Time. Doubtless the *Oration* is inserted, because the good *Jesuit* met with it somewhere *recorded* by the Descendants of the Person who took it in Short-Hand; and the *Treason* omitted, because it is not seemly to have the invincible *Spaniards* so glaringly *chronicled* for owing any of their Acquisitions to other Means than mere Dint of Prowess! --- My Author goes on.

This they readily came into, and promised to execute it on a Day prefixed. Meanwhile the Cardinal arrived with the *Armada*; and as the Army he brought with him was numerous, when the Troops were landed, without

without waiting for any Orders, the Soldiers began to march up the Mountain which is above *Al-Marfa*, taking the Road which leads to *Oran*. When the *Moors* of that City beheld such Numbers of scattering Troops to approach without the least Order in their March, they sallied out to encounter them, leaving very few Military Men in the Town. No sooner were they gone out, but the two *Moors* and the *Jew* shut the Gates; and going up into a high Tower, they displayed a Banner with a Red Cross in it, privately sent them by *Don Diego*. With this they made Signals to the *Christians* that they should approach the Walls; while, on the other hand, they dispatched away three *Moors*, in a Bark, to *Al-Marfa* with the Keys of the City Gates, acquainting *Don Diego* with what they had done. The whole Affair being made known to the Cardinal, in great Haste he ordered away a good Number of Soldiers with Scaling-Ladders, to mount the Walls on the other Side, exhorting them to attempt possessing themselves of the Town before the *Moors*, who were gone out to meet the *Christians*, could have Notice thereof. This with small Opposition they accomplished; when presently sallying out against those who were fighting with the other *Christians*, they took them in the Midst, and slaughtered great Numbers

bers of them. Those who escaped thence, finding the City Gates shut, and their Friends either slain or dispersed, began to run away over the Plain, leaving their Wives, Children, and Habitations in the Power of their Enemies. Thus was the City of *Oran* won; tho' after the *Christians* had entered it, a few *Moors* stood five Days on the Defensive in the House of the *Alfaqui*, or Chief Priest, which is just by the principal *Mosque*; but they were all at length either killed, or made Captives. This Day the Count *De Altamira* was unfortunately killed by a Cross-bow, which went off as one of his Domestic was carrying it before him ready bent and charged. Of the *Christians* were killed only thirty Persons, and the *Moors*, between the Slain and Captives, lost upwards of four thousand. This Victory obtained, the Cardinal returned to *Spain*, leaving in *Oran*, for Governor-General, *Don Diego, Alcayde de los Donzeles*, with such Forces as were by him deemed requisite for the Defense of that City. The Catholic King, *Don Ferdinand*, wanted not a good Inclination, after this, to prosecute the Conquest of *Africa*; but he was prevented by the Wars raised by the King of *France* and the *Venetians* against Pope *Julius II.* Besides, the King of *Tremizan* was become his Vassal, paying him Tribute: And, moreover,

over, *Ali Abou-Ras*, Proprietor of *Sheshuan*, had entered into Articles with him, That if he would assist him in the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Fess*, he would become his Tributary, and deliver into his Possession the Maritime Places of that Kingdom. And, in order hereunto, the *Catholic* King had got together a very powerful *Armada*, with a stout Land Army composed of the best Troops, and being ready to embark the latter End of *April*, A. D. 1511, he received a Letter from the Pope, acquainting him with the League made against him; and, with warm Instances, intreating him to favour him with the same Assistance he had been promised by the Emperor *Maximilian*, and other *Christian* Potentates. This News gave the King much Uneasiness, as finding himself obliged to quit the Enterprize upon *Africa*, and assist the Church's Grand Pontiff. This he actually did: And after the great Battel of *Ravenna*, the Commotions of *Christendom* were such, that he had not Leisure to prosecute what he had so happily begun, 'till (while his Heart was full of this Desire) the Almighty was pleased to take him to himself. Thus *Marmol*.

Don Ferdinand, the *Catholic*, died very early in 1516. I may not omit observing here, that in the next Year after the Reduction of *Oran*, viz. A. D. 1510, the

same *Spanish* General, *Don Pedro Navarro*, took from the *Moors* the ancient and noble Cities of *Bujeya* and *Tripoli* in *Barbary*; one now belonging to *Algiers*, about thirty Leagues to the East of it on the Coast, and once the Head of a little Kingdom; the other now the Head of a Kingdom, and for some Years in the Hands of the Knights of *Malta*, as may be read at large in my History of *Algiers*. Now for *Mariana*; who is somewhat particular, but not a little different from the other. *Utrum horum mavis accipe.*

Throughout *Castile* very great Preparations were making of Men, Arms, Provision and Ships for the Conquest of *Africa*. In this the Cardinal of *Spain* shewed himself so affectionately, and so adroitly intent, as if from his very Cradle he had been bred up in the Exercise of War. To give the greater Heat to this Enterprize, he not only provided Money for the Expence, but also resolved to go over to *Africa* in Person. The Land Army consisted of fourteen thousand Horse and Foot, Regular Troops, exclusive of a great Number of Cavaliers Adventurers. Of the Whole was General *Don Pedro Navarro*. The *Armada* was amassed in the Harbour of *Cartagena*, consisting of ten Gallies, with eighty Transports, great and small. On the 16th of *May*, 1509, they

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set sail from *Cartagena*, and on *Ascension-Day* entered the Port of *Al-Marfa* : Declaration being already made, that they went against *Oran*, one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, of about six thousand Houses, situated on the Sea-Coast, partly on level Ground, and partly on the Side of a Mountain, surrounded with a very good Wall, the Streets whereof were uneven and ill-contrived, after the Manner of the *Moors*, a People of little Curiosity in their Buildings. The City is distant from *Tremizan* about 140 Miles, and lies opposite to our *Cartagena*. It was wont to be one of the chief Markets on that whole Coast, on account of the mighty Concourse of Ships of *Genouese* and *Catalan* Traders, who resorted thither. Such were its Riches, that it commonly maintained a Fleet of *Brigantines*, and other small Craft, wherewith they made strange Ravages and Depredations on the Coast of *Andalusia*, &c.

Our Fleet arrived at the Port when it was very near Night, and next Morning at Day-break they began to land. In this, and in putting the Army in Order, several Hours were employed. The Troops were formed into four Squadrons of two thousand five hundred Men each, with the Cavalry on the Wings. While this was doing, the Cardinal went into the Church of *Al-Marfa*.
When

When the Squadrons were ready formed in order to attack the *Moors*, who were advanced to obstruct their Passage to the City, and prevent their ascending the Mountain, his Eminence came out, mounted on a Mule, well attended with Friars and other Ecclesiastics, and preceded by a certain *Franciscan* Monk, named Father *Hieronymo*, who bore the Crucifix as a Standard, his Sword girded over his Frock (as had all the others by the Cardinal's Order) his Eminence in the Army's Front made this Oration :

“ **I** F I had thought, Soldiers, that any
 “ Words of mine, or of others, were ne-
 “ cessary to animate you, I should have ta-
 “ ken Care that some of your Commanders,
 “ experienced in these Matters, with their
 “ studied Speeches, should have stirred up
 “ your Spirits to Battel. But, as I per-
 “ suade myself, that all and every one of
 “ you here are satisfied that this is God's
 “ Cause, undertaken for the Benefit of our
 “ Country, for which we are bound to ha-
 “ zard all we have, and our very Being, I
 “ cannot but think my coming is only to
 “ rejoice at your Resolution and good Ad-
 “ dress, and to be Witness of your invin-
 “ cible Prowess. Will it be reasonable, Sol-
 “ diers, that the Bravery which you have
 “ shewn in so many Wars, and the Vic-
 “ tories which you have obtained, should

“ be baffled and lost in contending with the
 “ Enemies of the *Christian* Name ? Against
 “ those, I say, who have plundered and
 “ ravaged the *Spanish* Coasts, spoiling you
 “ of your Wealth, and captivating your
 “ Wives, your Children, and your Bre-
 “ thren ! those dear Pledges, I say, who
 “ are sometimes buried in those their Dun-
 “ geons, loaded with Irons ! and at other
 “ Times employed in the vilest Offices, the
 “ filthiest Services, leading a most miserable
 “ Life, to which Death itself is abundantly
 “ preferable ! The Mothers who beheld our
 “ Departure from *Spain*, thro’ our Means,
 “ remain in Hopes of recovering their Chil-
 “ dren, as do Children their Parents ; all
 “ which, prostrate in our Temples, cease not
 “ offering up to God and the Saints an In-
 “ finity of Sighs and Tears for your Welfare,
 “ Victory, and Triumph ! Will it be just,
 “ that the Hopes and Desires of so many In-
 “ nocents should be void and disappointed ?
 “ God and his Saints forbid it, my Brethren :
 “ I myself will go before you, and will
 “ plant this Cross, the Royal Standard of
 “ the *Christians*, in the midst of those hostile
 “ Squadrons. Which of you is it who will
 “ not follow his Prelate ? And if you all
 “ abandon me, where can I pour out my
 “ Blood, and lose my Life, better than in
 “ a Cause so just and holy ?

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This said, the Officers and Soldiers surrounded him, earnestly supplicating him that he would return and pray to God for them; adding, that they hoped and confided in his Divine Majesty, that he would enable them intirely to comply with their just Obligations. His Eminence, overcome with their Intreaties, withdrew to *Al-Marfa*, where, in St. *Michael's* Chapel, he continued weeping and sobbing all the while his Army was fighting. It was then Three in the Afternoon; and the Count perceiving how little of the Day remained, was in Doubt whether he ought not to delay the Engagement till next Mornning. Going to consult the Cardinal, his Eminence was of Opinion, that it was not at all advisable to suffer the Soldiers Ardour to grow cool. Upon this the Signal was given, and they began to advance up the Mountain. The *Moors* shewed themselves above, being in Number about twelve thousand Horse and Foot, not counting those who were afterwards continually joining them. These plyed our Men with Showers of Stones, and what else came to Hand; in spite of all which, they continued their March upwards. Some Soldiers of *Guadalaxara*, contrary to the Orders given, advanced before the rest. Of these one, named *Luis de Contreras*, was killed, and the others forced to a disorderly Retreat. The Enemy cut off the Head of
that

that slain Soldier, which, being carried to the City, was delivered to the Boys, and other idle People, who rouled it about the Streets, saying, It was the Head of the *Christians Alfaqui*, or *Priest*; so they termed the Cardinal. A certain *Spanish* Captive, who was then in the Town, ran to look at it; when, taking Notice that it had but one Eye, and that the Features were different, he cried out: "This, you may depend on it, is not the Head of our *Alfaqui*:" "It is rather that of some ordinary Soldier." The Cavalry on the Side of the Mountain, ceased not skirmishing with ours; and our Field-pieces began to play, which did some Damage to the Enemy. At length our Foot came up with the Enemy's main Body, with whom engaging briskly, it was not long before the *Moors* were repulsed, so that our Men gained Part of the Mountain, which is very rugged, and advanced to a Place where are some Springs of Water, and there halted a while. Our Artillery being got up to the most craggy Part of the Mountain, with some Vollies thereof the Enemy was quite put to a confused Flight, the *Christians* pursuing them Sword in Hand, without any Order, even beyond the City; the Gates whereof the routed *Moors* had found shut. Mean while arrived a great Band of *Arabs*. These, with what others they could amass, were soon engaged with a good Part of our Forces,

Forces, while another Party of *Christians* hastened away to scale the Town; and those within did their best to defend it. The *Christians* on the Gallies, who attacked the Town from the Sea-ward, behaved so well, that they possessed themselves of some Towers, and of the whole *Alcasaba*, or Citadel. Thus was the Town entered by the *Christians*, and given up to Pillage. When the *Moors*, who were fighting with our People without, beheld the *Spanish* Banners waving on the Walls, they faced about in order to repair to the Town's Rescue. As they approached, some Companies of Infantry advanced from another Quarter to receive them, insomuch, that the *Moors* being taken in the Middle, were attacked both in Front and Rear, and great Slaughter was made of them. On that Day four thousand Infidels were killed outright, and about five thousand made Captives. This was a very signal, and almost miraculous Victory, were we only to consider the little Order observed by the *Christians*; but more especially, if we reflect on what soon occurred: For the City was scarce entered, when the *Mezouar* [or *Mesbouar**] of *Tremizan* arrived to its

* That King's Lieutenant, or Prime Minister. This eminent Title has since dwindled away strangely; it being now proper only to the Governor of the *Filles* and *Garçons de Foye*, who is also the Common Executioner; but lives in some State, and has many *Satellites*.

Succour, with such a Multitude of *Moors* and *Arabs*, that it would have been impossible for us to have carried the Place. The good Success of that Day was generally attributed to the great Zeal, strong Faith, and most fervent Prayers of the Cardinal, who, in Ecstasy of Joy, entered into *Oran*, and consecrated the chief *Mosque* into a *Church*, with the Appellation of *Santa Maria de la Victoria*. This done, the next Day his Eminence, with the Gallies, departed for *Cartagena*. The Charge of that conquered City he left recommended to the Care of Count *Pedro Navarro*, till his Majesty should appoint a Captain-General. From *Cartagena* his Eminence sent to acquaint the King with that Victory; and himself set out for his Town of *Alcala*, into which, on the 15th Day after the Reduction of *Oran*, he made his Entry, but rather like a Religious, than like a Conqueror, without permitting any Festivity or pompous Reception to be made him. His Eminence designed to create an Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Church of *Toledo*, under Title of *Abbot of Oran*, and to leave that City in Spirituals subject to the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*. A titular Prelate, stiling himself *Episcopus Auriensis*, pretended *Oran* to be the See or Seat of his Bishoprick. In answer to this, the Cardinal alledged *Oran* never to have been the Metropolis

tropolis of a Diocese: That *Aurian* was more Easterly, and appertained to the *Cathagenensis*, in the Province of *Africa propria*; whereas *Oran*, and all that Neighbourhood, fell in the *Tingitana*, which is the Westerly Province of *Africa*. This carried it. Moreover, the *Catholic* King, some Months after, in a *Chapter* of the Chevaliers of *San Fago*, held at *Valladolid*, ordained a Convent of that Order to be erected at *Oran*, and that the Chevaliers should there take their Habit. And to this Effect, his Majesty obtained Licence from the Pope, to annex thereto the Rents of the Convents of *Villar de Venas* and *San Martin*, which are in the Dioceses of *San Fago* and *Oviedo*. A very good Design, had it been put in Execution: But Inconveniences and Impediments are never wanting to obstruct the Prosecution of worthy and laudable Intentions. Neither was executed the Design of establishing also at * *Bujeya* and *Tripoli* (both in *Barbary*, and taken from the *Moors* the very next

* How these Places were lost and regained, see at large in my *History of Algiers*. The Reader will there find very particularly related, how the *Spaniards* held *Bujeya* 45 Years; and in 1555 it was wrested from them by the *Turks* of *Algiers*. As for *Tripoli*, they kept it till they were as heartily tired of it, as we were of *Tangier*, or *Tanjah*; and then artfully, and in a Manner forcibly saddled it upon the Knights of *Malta*, who were compelled to surrender it in 1551 to the *Turkish* Admiral, and that brave Corsair *Dragut Rais*, chiefly for Want of due and timely Relief.

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Year, viz. 1510. by the same Count *Pedro Navarro*, as was observed) two Convents of the other Military Orders of *Calatrava* and *Alcantara*, as was intended by his said Catholic Majesty, and which would have been accomplished, had not the Wars of *Italy* impeded.

Thus have we seen, at large, after what Manner *Al-Marsa* and *Oran* first came into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. We shall next examine how they managed their Affairs till their late Expulsion. My Authorities are still mostly from Writings of the *Spaniards* themselves.

The most remarkable Exploits of the SPANIARDS in those Parts of BARBARY while they possessed ORAN.

DURING the first seven Years we are to suppose the *Spaniards* of *Oran* and *Al-Marsa* employing themselves chiefly in establishing their new Settlement, making Alliances with such of their Neighbours as they could bring into their Measures, and, with the Assistance of those their Confederates, making some Excursions upon such others as they found less tractable.

But in 1516. the famous Corsair, *Arouje Barba-rossa*, having made himself King of *Al-*

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Algiers, * and in the ensuing Year likewise of *Tenez*, which Province, or little Kingdom, lies between *Sbershel* (which is twenty Leagues West of *Algiers*, and of which he was also Sovereign) and *Oran*, the Marquis *De Comares*, then Captain-General of *Oran*, began to be apprehensive of so dangerous a Neighbour. He had already entered into an Alliance with the King of *Tremizan*; which Prince, compelled to it thro' the Commotions in his Realm, had agreed to acknowledge himself a Sort of Vassal to the young *Spanish* Monarch, and even to pay him a Tribute, on Condition of being protected. This being a Step the *Moors* can never bear with, he was glad to flee for Sanctuary to *Oran*, and his Throne was filled by his Brother. The young Son of the late murdered *Sultan Salem*, Prince or King of *Algiers*, was also soliciting Succours from the Court of *Spain*. His Excellency the Marquis was so strenuously cordial in these Affairs, that by dint of Importunity he obtained a stout Reinforcement of ten thousand Veterans. Mean while the *Tremizans*, not liking their new King, had secretly sent to invite *Barba-rossa*, to take on him their Government: This was Music

* Two Years before, he had been voluntarily chosen Lord of *Fijel*, on the same Coast Eastward, with a Regal Title.

to the Ears of a Person of his Ambition. He had just put to Flight a prodigious Amass of *Arabs* and *Moors*, who took the Field in order to extirpate those imperious Inmates the *Turks*, and had crowned his Victory with the Acquisition of *Tennez*, a new Royalty. He was then there, which is a good Step onwards in the Way to *Tremizan*; and he received the Deputation very graciously, promising his speedy Appearance where his Presence was required.

But we must not omit here to observe, that a little before this very Juncture, the *Spaniards* had a terrible Repulse by *Barbarossa* before *Algiers*. A strong Squadron of Gallies, &c. fitted out likewise by the said zealous Prelate, Cardinal *Ximenes*, under the Conduct of *Don Diego de Vera*, came to re-instate the young exiled Prince. He landed seven thousand Men: But what from Storms, and what from Enemies, both Fleet and Army came off wretchedly.

The successful *Barbarossa* had escaped all these Encounters incredibly well, having lost but very few of his fifteen hundred Fire-Arms, whereof about a Thousand were *Turks*, and the rest *Moriscoes*, all good Men, and his chief Dependence. He had also with him a pretty numerous Cavalry of *Moors* and *Arabs*; but his main Strength, I say, was his Infantry. Bending his March
towards

towards *Tremizan*, tho' not a little apprehensive of the *Oran Spaniards*, he was not long before he reached the spacious Plain of *Agobel*, about twenty Leagues short of *Tremizan*, where he met the King of *Tremizan* waiting his Approach, as wholly ignorant of his Subjects Treason. The Encounter was smart; but the *Turks*, &c. with the Cannon and Fire-Arms, being too hard a Match for an Enemy, who (then) had none, the Usurper was put to Flight; and had his Head struck off by his own People before he could enter the City. Thither *Barba-rossa* went directly, and was well received. This was *September, 1517*. Right or wrong, he amassed among his new Subjects a prodigious Treasure; good Part of which he most liberally distributed among those who had done him Service. The better to enable him to maintain himself in his new Acquisitions, he made a League, offensive and defensive, with the King of *Fes* against their common Enemy the *Christians*, and all other Opponents. *Barba-rossa's* Affairs seemed in a very promising Situation; and he continued quietly there, till, early in the ensuing Year, he had repeated Intelligences of what mighty Preparations were making against him by the Marquis *De Comares*. Then it was that he had News of the ten thousand *Spaniards* newly arrived at *Oran*.

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Finding the promised Succours from *Fess* did not arrive, and certified of the Marquis's being already set out from *Oran*, he seemingly prepared to meet him in the Field with what Forces he had ready, being not above five thousand Horse, besides his Infantry; yet still he delayed as long as possible, expecting the *Fessan* Auxiliaries, who he heard were on their March. But perceiving the Enemy in a manner at his very Gates, he deemed it Madness and Presumption to expect a numerous and well-appointed Army with such a Handful of Men in so defenseless a Place, and in whose Inhabitants he supposed he could not greatly confide, as having so often been Traytors to their natural Princes. As to the rest, he observed a gloomy Discontent lowring on every Countenance.

Affairs being in this critical Position, without communicating his Design to any of his *Moorish* Cavalry, he took Advantage of the dark Night, and stole out by a Postern, having mounted all his fifteen hundred *Turks* and *Moriscoes* on such Horses as he had ready, and loaded on Mules the best of his Effects, and all his Treasure. His Intent was to get out of Reach with all Speed, and then to make the best of his Way to *Algiers*, distant thence near three hundred Miles. But scarce had he left *Tremizan*, when the Marquis, who lay incamped not far off, had

News

News of his Flight. With all possible Silence, mounting the Infantry on the *Moors* Horses, he set out in his Pursuit, resolving, if possible, to have him alive. Such was his Diligence, that tho' the *Turks* were got thirty Miles on their Way, he got Wind of them long before Day-break. In all Probability the *Turks* might have all escaped, could they have got safe over the River, not far from whence they were when the Vanguard of the *Spaniards* came in Sight.

It was with no small Surprise, that I first read what Father *Haedo* (to whom I owe this Story) tells us, concerning *Barbarossa's* neat Stratagem, as he terms it, and says; "It might have passed very well, had it been practised on any others but *Spaniards*." Finding himself so closely pursued, in order to facilitate his Passage over the River (which was somewhat difficult) he ordered his Treasure to be strewed along the Way as they fled, to busy the Pursuers with amassing such valuable Spoil. But the Bait, it seems, took not; the Fish would not bite: Such Arguments, mixed with Threats, were used by the Marquis, that, regardless of the Wealth of *Africa*, which lay ready to be picked up with only stooping for, they trampled under Foot what half the World go together by the Ears about, and instantly
came

came up with the Rear of their Fugitive Enemies.

Barba-rossa, with many of the foremost, had already got over : When hearing the piteous Outcries of those whom the *Spaniards* were slaughtering, his great Soul disdaining to save his own Life while his brave Friends were in such Extremity, he generously crossed again the fatal Stream, and gathering up such of his People as he could meet with, he led them to an Eminence ; where making a resolute Stand, “ turning “ their Breasts and Faces to the Enemy (says “ *Haedo*) like Men determined to die bravely, there began a most obstinate Dispute, “ which ended not while a single *Turk* or “ *Morisco* remained alive.” *Barba-rossa* (says both *Haedo* and *Marmol*) tho’ he had but one Arm, fought like a Lyon to the very last Gasps : He was not quite forty-four Years old. A very small Number of those who had not repassed the River, made a Shift to fight their Way thro’ that large Tract of Country, tho’ with abundance of Difficulty, and, in a most miserable Condition, at last they got to *Algiers*. On the 15th Day after *Barba-rossa*’s Death, arrived the King of *Fess*, with twenty thousand Horse, to his Assistance ; but hearing the News, he hastened back, for fear of the *Spaniards*,

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niards and their Allies. All this happened early in 1518 *.

You here have had the first Exploit of any Moment, I find done by the *Spaniards* of *Oran*; and indeed the only one of any very considerable Moment they ever did, except we may so call their Cruelty at *Tremizan*; and we shall in Time hear of the *Algerines* being very little in their Debt. This cutting off *Barba-rossa*, with all his vast Designs, was really an Exploit of the last Importance: And call him Pirate, or what else you please, he must indisputably be allowed to have been one of the greatest Men the 16th Century produced. As to the rest, I am at a Loss to guess what could have been the Arguments the Marquis *De Comares* used to keep his Men in such Order: Perhaps he deterred them by some bloody Examples; otherwise it must seem amazing to others, as well as to me, for *Spaniards* to be seen trampling over that, which to acquire they have butcherly let out more human Gore than would suffice to burst the Veins of five such Nations as theirs, not excluding their Dependants. Some will say, All that Blood was not spilled merely

* *Marianus* (who seems above meddling with trifling or minute Affairs, but did not, we see, deem the Cardinal's *Oration* such) remains wholly silent with Regard to *Oran*, and its *Spaniards*: But what is hinted of them by his Continuators, shall come in when proper.

on that Score, but rather to propagate *Christianity*, to extirpate *Heresies*, and root out *Idolatries* : Tho' there want not enough in the World who are of Opinion, That it is but changing some Sorts of *Idolatries*, for others nothing better : Not that we ever hear of their Apostles aiming to plant any of them, where nothing but the Merit of having done so, is to be got by it. Our immortal *Butler*, if I remember rightly, says thus, or to this Effect.

*No Jesuit e'er took in Hand
To plant a Church in barren Land ;
Or ever thought it worth his While
A Suede or Rufs to reconcile :
For where there is not Store of Wealth,
Souls are not worth the Charge of Health.
Spain on th' Americans had two Designs ;
To sell them Gospel, buy their Mines.
For had the Mexicans been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their
Shore.
'Twas Gold the Catholic Religion planted,
Which had they wanted Gold, they still
had wanted.*

The Year following, viz. 1519. *Don Carlos*, the young Catholic Monarch, not yet elected Emperor, at the earnest Solicitations of the Marquis *De Comares*, who

was

was indefatigably cordial in the Cause of his *Moorish* Allies, sent *Don Hugo de Moncada* with another strong *Armada*, to drive the *Turks* from *Algiers*, judging it a no difficult Task, on account of the universal Consternation they must be in for their recent Disaster. The Marquis from *Oran*, with all his Allies, were to favour this Enterprize. Tho' *Barba-rossa's* Brother and Successor failed not to put himself in the best Posture he could to receive them, yet a furious East-Wind so befriended him, that he had little to do but to pick up the Wrecks as they were driven ashore. In short, this *Armada* fared rather worse than better than the former, and the Marquis saved his Labour. But these Repulse which the *Spaniards* met with at *Algiers*, were nothing in Comparison to that terrible one the Emperor *Don Carlos* in Person sustained in 1541. on which I shall not inlarge, it being so well known a Story.

But I must not omit one Passage of this *Don Hugo's* Expedition, since it relates to the *Spaniards* of *Oran*. At the first Appearance of the Tempest, many Persons of the best Distinction, for their better Security, had removed themselves on board a huge Galeon of great Strength and Defense. This being also stranded, it sustained all Attacks. At last forced to capitulate, on Promise

of Life and Liberty, all the Cavaliers, &c. landed. The *Moors* were for lancing them; but, by the *Basha* and his *Turks*, they were effectually protected. *Barba-rossa*, when he went to *Tremizan*, had left his youngest Brother *Isaac*, with some *Turks*, to guard a very important Pass, which I take to be *Al-Cala de Beni Rashid*. With these, it seems, the *Spaniards* had broken Faith, and they were all cut off, tho' they surrendered on Articles. However, the Story is variously related. When the Equipage of this Galeon were brought to the *Basha*, he put the Question; Whether Cavaliers and Men of Honour ought not to keep their Words? Doubtless he was answered affirmatively. "Well then, said he, why did your General break his Word with the *Turks*? They were promised Life and Liberty, with free Leave to retire, with their Baggage, &c. wherever they would; and yet they were all killed."—"By *Arabs*, replied they, my Lord; but not by *Spaniards*."—"So would my *Moors*, said he, have served every Mother's Son of you, had I not given express Orders to the contrary. But to convince you, that I am more a Gentleman and Man of Honour than your faithless General, and mind my Word somewhat better, I also promised you Life and Liberty. Life you do enjoy; and

“ and Liberty you also may enjoy whenever
 “ you will purchase it, each according to
 “ his Ability: Whereas all the Wealth in
 “ *Africa* will not restore to me one of my
 “ slaughtered Friends. Let your present
 “ Servitude and future Ransoms make some
 “ small Attonement for their Loss; and from
 “ henceforwards, let this be a Warning
 “ for every one to have more Regard to
 “ his Word of Honour.”

For some Years, we hear very little in
 particular of the *Oran Spaniards*. The
 noble and most ancient Kingdom of *Tremi-*
zan had been long on the Decline; but since
 the Intrusion of the *Spaniards* and *Turks*
 into its Territories, the poor Remnant was
 reduced to a very crazy Condition. Perpe-
 tually in Factions, one Party sought Pro-
 tection from the one, and its Rival from the
 other of those equally pernicious In-
 mates. States arrived at that Crisis cannot
 long subsist: Yet we find the Name of a
 King of *Tremizan*, and frequently of two
 at once, till Thing and Title were, *A. D.*
 1550. swallowed up by the *Algerines*.

We are to bear in Mind, that in 1518.
 on the Death of *Barba-rossa*, the *Spaniards*,
 being Masters of *Tremizan*, contented them-
 selves with leaving the rightful Prince on a
 Throne which they judged themselves not
 well able to keep in their own Possession,

with his acknowledging himself a Tributary Ally, or rather Vassal to the King of *Spain* : And indeed he so continued quietly enough for some Years, even till his Decease. He was succeeded by his younger Brother, whom the *Spaniards* also assisted in his peaceable Accession. But, instigated by *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, and certain Zealots of his own Subjects, he cast himself under Protection of the *Algerines*, who engaged to secure him and his Realm from all Injuries of the *Oran Spaniards* ; which they pretty well performed. He enjoyed his State some Years, died in Peace, and named for his Successor his eldest Son. But a younger Son of his, who had a great Mind to be a King, on some pretended Discontent, went to *Algiers* ; where the designing *Turk* gave him a most gracious Reception : As rightly judging, that possibly by his Means he might bring about what he most thirsted for, which was to render *Tremizan* absolutely subordinate to *Algiers*. With this View, a *Turkish* Army seated him in his Father's Throne. This Affair brought the *Spaniards* again into Play : For the excluded Prince repaired to *Oran* for Redress. *Don Martin de Cordoua* (of whom more will be said) Count de *Alcaudete*, a restless, enterprising Person, was then Captain-General. The Third *Spanish Armada* sent against *Algiers*, miserably

rably miscarried, as I observed, in 1541. and the *Oran Spaniards*, like others, were sorrowful Spectators. I cannot learn the precise Time when this dethroned King of *Tremizan* came to *Oran*; but, according to *Haedo* (who seems the exactest and least partial of all the *Spaniards* who have written of these Affairs) it was very soon after the Defeat of the *Armada* that he set out with the Succours he could obtain from *Don Martin*. Tho' the whole Retinue of that Prince consisted but of about four hundred Horse, yet he failed not to insinuate to the Governor of *Oran*, how dearly he was beloved by the *Tremizansians*, and how considerably his Army would swell in its March. With much, and perhaps long Sollicitation, he prevailed with *Don Martin* to intrust with him four Field-Pieces and six hundred *Spaniards*, under the Conduct of a Captain related to himself, and named *Don Alonso Martinez de Angulo*; which Force, said the too-confident *Moor*, would be even more than sufficient to reinstate him. Late in 1541. they set out. After two Days March, and the Army increasing not, as they had flattered themselves, the *Spanish* Captain was counselled by some of his Officers not to proceed. To which, rather courageously, than prudently, he returned; " That it
" should never be said any of the Fami-
" ly

“ ly of *Alcaudete* had turned their Backs “ to Danger.” To cut short, the brave *Al-Mansor*, the reigning King of *Tremizan*’s Generalissimo, was in such excellent Order to receive those Invaders, that on his Approach with a formidable Body of Cavalry, the *Moorish* Prince fought his own Safety by a hasty Flight, leaving his Auxiliaries to shift as they could. The *Spaniards* were for capitulating; but were miserably cut in Pieces. Only the Captain, with thirteen others, were carried alive to *Tremizan*; and before *Al-Mansor*’s Arrival, twenty *Spaniards*, with some *Moors* Guides, had slunk away in the Night, and got to *Oran*. I do not find any of the *Algerine Turks* any way concerned in this Business.

I know not what Excuses the Fugitive King of *Tremizan* could make to *Don Martin* for the Loss of his *Spaniards* and Cannon; but we soon find him again strenuously soliciting for a stronger Succour, and in Conjunction with the *Spaniards*, and what Troops he could pick up elsewhere, doing all possible Damages to the States and Dependants of his usurping Brother. This Prince, quite tired out with these Depredations, and finding himself not well screened from those Insults by his Protectors the *Algerines* (who had enough to do in quelling a dangerous Insurrection of their nearer Neigh-

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Neighbours) listened to some Proposals made him from *Oran*. *Hassan Aga* (that brave *Renegado* Eunuch, who so gallantly defended *Algiers* in 1541.) then *Basha* of *Algiers*, being highly offended at these Practices, set out in 1543. with a warlike Camp, resolving to put an effectual Stop to all this, by introducing a *Turkish* Garison into *Tremizan*. But on his March, being met by a sightly Deputation (nor were rich Presents left behind) with a very humble Apology, he was so well appeased, that, tho' he proceeded to *Tremizan*, he soon quitted it without leaving the intended Garison, and died not long after his Return to *Algiers*, exceedingly, and not undeservedly lamented. His immediate Successor was only a Deputy, and so of no very great Authority.

Neither the exile King, nor *Don Martin* were idle, and were not only meditating, but also preparing for Vengeance. True, they had dreaded *Hassan Aga*; but his Death offered them a fair Occasion. *Don Martin* had procured a strong Reinforcement from the Emperor; and, according to *Marmol*, pretty early in 1544. he set out from *Oran* with nine thousand *Spanish* Foot, and four hundred Horse, exclusive of some Troops of *Arab* and *Moorish* Cavalry. He took with him his three Sons, *Alonso*, *Martin*, and *Francisco*: The middlemost of which young

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Noblemen we shall afterwards speak of, as having been a Captive at *Algiers*, and afterwards defended bravely *Al-Marsa*, when attacked by the *Algerines*. I find no Mention of Cannon. The *Spanish* Army advanced with quick Marches. Mean while the Ufurper did what he could. He depended not on much Assistance from the *Algerines* at that Juncture; and saw a formidable Body of Enemies hastening to his very Door. His Prime-General, *Al-Manfor*, who was also his Father-in-Law, lay incamped within eight Miles of the City, with all the Force he could possibly raise, intending to try his Fortune. *Don Martin*, when arrived in Sight, halted, and forming two great Battalions of Infantry, of four thousand each, he placed one in Front, and the other in Rear, in the Midst of which was the Baggage. The Wings, somewhat behind the Front, consisted each of five hundred Musqueteers. All the *Oran* Light-Horse, with the rest of his Cavalry, he placed on one Side, at some Distance. In this Order he waited the Enemy's Motions; commanding, on Pain of Death, that no one, as usual, should presume to quit his Rank to skirmish. *Al-Manfor*, according to the Manner of Fighting in those Countries, advanced with his whole Force, in a disorderly Body; and when pretty near, gave the Word to attack

on

on every Quarter ; confiding that, by the impetuous Shock of fo numerous a Cavalry, they might pierce thro' the Battalions. But the *Spaniards* fo well kept their Ranks, and plied their Fire-Arms, that, with much Lofs, the *Moors* were repulfed. Yet they retreated fighting, and the *Spaniards* kept advancing on them the whole Afternoon, till they arrived at a certain Inclofure where the *Moors* had deposited Refreshments againft their Return. The Succels of this Day was owing to the good Order obferved by the *Spaniards* in their Purfuit of the Enemy ; for all which *Don Martin* was indebted to the Rigour with which he punifhed the Difobedient. By Evening the Army broke into the faid Inclofure, and merrily refreshed themfelves with what the *Moors* had not defigned for them. Next Morning, as *Don Martin* directed his March for *Tremizan*, he had Intelligence of the Wells being all fpoiled, and of the Ufurper's Flight : Alfo, that moft of his Retinue had deferted, and declared for his Competitor. Now for a little of *Spanifh* Clemency. *Spaniards* are ftill my Authors.

When the Count heard this, fays *Marmol*, he entered the City as an Enemy, giving it up to Saccage, and either maffacred or made Slaves of every Soul he found therein. The re-inftated King took Poffeffion of the Citadel ; and to ftrengthen himfelf, married

the Daughters of some principal *Shieks*, best able to support his Interest, and among others, he took a Daughter of a certain *Renegado Biscayner*, named *Alcayde Hassan*, who, having been a great Officer under his Brother, had brought him a good Body of Cavalry.

Don Martin stayed forty Days in the City ; during which his Troops made diverse Excursions, bringing in much Cattle and many Captives ; but lost more than a thousand Men in those Expeditions. He had garisoned the Mills of *Al-Cala de Beni Rashid* with two Companies, whom the *Moors* set upon, and killed more than two hundred, so that scarce any escaped. The *Moors* having there taken a Pair of Colours, with which they went about the Country, exhorting the People to rise against their inhuman Enemies the *Spaniards* : This *Don Martin* having heard of, and that the deposed King, in Person, was amassing a mighty Multitude of *Arabs* from the *Sahara*, or Desert, and of *Africans* from the Mountains ; as also, that not only these but the *Algerines* were preparing to fall on him, he deemed it Rashness to wait the Event : But having completely effected the Emperor's Orders, he delivered up into the King's Hands that desolate City ; and taking with him what he had amassed, together with nine Field-Pieces (four of which
were

were taken from the *Spaniards*, as observed) he set out for *Oran*. His March thither was not so unmolested as he could have wished; being way-laid by more than a hundred thousand *Moors* and *Arabs*, tho' the Bulk of them were ill-armed, and worse disciplined. These, suffering his Van to pass undisturbed, fell so furiously on his Rear, that the *Spaniards* were forced most vigorously to bestir themselves, and to maintain a tedious defensive Fight the whole Day, till after Sun-set, to prevent their utter Destruction. Their Cannon and Fire-Arms, used to the best Advantage, stood them in such stead against a disorderly Multitude, whose chief Weapons were Lances, that at length they made shift to pursue their March, tho' not without perpetual Interruptions, which ceased not till they were in Sight of *Oran*. It is not said how long they were in reaching thither; and the Accounts given by Writers of the Distance between *Tremizan* and *Oran*, is not so satisfactory as one could desire. All I can say of it is, that it is computed a pretty good three Days Riding of a single Horseman; and the *Moors* never trot their Horses, but they teach them a very good and easy Walk; nor do they reckon their Distances any otherwise.

A few Days after *Don Martin* had quitted the ruined *Tremizan*, the expelled Usurper

Ufurper approached it with a Body of Cavalry. His Competitor sallied, put him to Flight, and was returning glad of his Success. But, "Being hated (says *Marmol* expressly) on account of the great Mischiefs the Count and his Followers had wrought, not only on that wretched City, but in all the circumjacent Parts," the People had shut their Gates, and absolutely refused him Entrance; telling him to his Face; "They would never admit, as their Prince, a faithless Tyrant, who, with such Excess of Inhumanity, had delivered up a *Mussulman* People to be destroyed by *Christians*, their butcherly and implacable Enemies." All the Insinuations he could use little availed him; since in Return he got nothing but Curses and Execrations, even from his very Favourites, whom he called to by Name: And finding his Followers flinking away by Degrees, he speeded away towards his *Arab* Allies in the Desert, with only sixty Attendants. But even those *Arab* Friends, detesting his Alliance with *Christians*, or, possibly, too like the rest of the World, hating the Unfortunate, soon after had him assassinated. All this we are to remember was in 1544.

His Brother was again sent for by the miserable Remnant of the *Tremizanians*. But another Brother of this Prince, hearing that *Hassan*, Son of the famous *Heyredin Barba-*

rossa (then *Captain-Basha*, or the Grand Signor's Great Admiral) was appointed *Basha*, or Viceroy of *Algiers*, he got away thither, and so well negociated his Matters with the new *Basha*, that he engaged him to arm in his Favour.

In *June* 1545. *Hassan Basha* set out, and by expeditious Marches soon reached *Tremizan*. The *Dons* of *Oran* we are to suppose lay very quiet; for I hear not a Word of them. The Pretender was seated on that tottering Throne without Opposition, and had nothing to do but to raise Monies, how he could, wherewith to gratify his Introducers. *Hassan Basha*, for his better Security, left him a *Turkish* Guard, which seem to have been the first *Turks* who took up their Residence in *Tremizan*, since the Death of *Arouje Barba-rossa*. And here we conclude the Year 1546. But we shall soon find this King also sent a grazing by *Don Martin*.

A Reader will possibly imagine, that I never design to have done with the History of these *Oran Spaniards*, since I am yet got no farther with them. But I here promise him, by way of Anticipation, that it will not be long before he comes to a large Chasm of Years, wherein he shall hear very little, if any Thing at all, of those redoubtable *Dons*; but he will find them wretchedly banged, even by the Confession of their own Writers.

While

While there were such Persons in Being as Kings of *Tremizan*, or Pretenders to that Title, the *Spaniards* of that Neighbourhood were People in no small Request. But when that Kingdom became an *Algerine* Province, the Case was much altered: They were glad to content themselves with holding what they had got, and now and then venturing out, accompanied and conducted by their *Moorish* Allies, to surprize and bring away into Slavery their sleeping Neighbours. Otherwise, they soon began to cut as contemptible a Figure in *Barbary*, as the Grand *Spanish* Monarchy has, in Proportion, done in *Europe*, since it began to go down Hill, which we may date from the memorable 1588, when its *Not-invincible Armada* made our Great Great-Grand-Fathers that friendly Visit. But it would not be acting the Part of a faithful Historian, should I omit mentioning what farther Feats of Chivalry I find upon Record.

The before-mentioned *Al-Manfor* having (in Favour of his Nephew, Son-in-Law and Sovereign, the expulsed King of *Tremizan*) carried to *Oran* two of his Sons as Hostages, the Emperor, *Don Carlos*, sent Orders to *Don Martin* to pass over into *Spain*, and raise what Recruits he judged expedient for his intended Campaign; not forgetting to lay his positive Injunction on him, not to suffer

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suffer even a single *Turk* in *Tremizan*. This Captain-General soon raised, in *Andalusia*, two thousand Men, and with half of them he immediately returned to *Oran*, on some *Spanish Gallies*, under Command of *Don Bernardino de Mendoza**.

The remaining Troops he left at *Malaga*, to follow him in three large Ships and some other Transports. *Don Martin's* first Exploit, with the new Recruits he brought over with him, to whom he joined eight hundred from the Garison, was to march

* If this was the same Gentleman of that Name, who (in our Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, when he was King *Philip II.* of Spain's Embassador here) was obliged to leave *England* sooner than he designed, not for his Uprightness; and was afterwards so very instrumental in sending hither the Grand *Spanish Armada*, more than forty Years after the Time we are speaking of above; if he was the same, I say, he must needs have been either a very young *Commodore* of *Gallies*, or a very vigorous old *Machiavel*. This Observation I the rather make, on account of a small *French Book* I have by me, which I am of Opinion might very well bear a *Translation*, and I have some Thoughts of doing it. It was printed in 1588. tho' no Mention is made where. A Manuscript Copy of the Original is said to have been seized among the Papers of one *Richard Leigh*, a Seminary-Priest, who was executed for Treasons proved against him while the *Armada* was at Sea, in its Way hither. The Title it bears is this: "Copy of a Letter sent from England to *Don Bernardino de Mendoza*, Embassador in France for the King of Spain: Whereby is declared the State and Condition of the Realm of *England*, against the Attempts and Intrigues of *Don Bernardino*, and all his Partisans, Spaniards and others." The Letter itself is dated in *August*, and its Postscript in *September*, of the same Year, 1588. In it many notable Particulars, with abundance of that Don's Practises, are specified, which I have not met with elsewhere; as also in the annexed Appendix, containing the remarkable Examinations and Confessions of several *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Prisoners, none of which were ever seen by any of the curious Gentlemen to whom I have shewed it.

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away for *Canastel*, a small Town, three Leagues East of *Oran*, whose Inhabitants were his Allies. The *Turks*, in their March to *Algiers*, it seems, had called there, and compelled them to supply their Camp with what they wanted : Which indeed I know not how the poor People could excuse, as not being in a Condition to deny complying with the Demands of so superior a Power. Nevertheless, the *Spaniards* would needs interpret this to be Treason, and seizing more than two hundred of those *Moors*, made them all Slaves, and hung up three of their chief Magistrates for Examples. Nay, the same *Don Martin* served them even worse, on a like Occasion, some few Years after, when the *Algerine* Camp went against *Oran* itself, as shall soon be observed : For, spite of all the Remonstrances they could make, he made Slaves of them every Soul ; which Procedure *Marmol*, my Author, does not seem to approve.

Returning from this Expedition, he got his whole Army in Order, and ten Pieces of Cannon, with which he took the Field ; and on the second Day's March, was joined by *Al-Mansor*, with five thousand Horse. Several Particulars, too tedious to insert here, occurred in this Campaign ; for which I refer the curious Reader to *Marmol*, and my *History of Algiers*. While the Count

was

was entertaining himself with receiving the Compliments of abundance of *Moors*, who flocked from all Parts, by *Al-Mansor's* Procurement, and waiting the Arrival of the rest of his Troops from *Spain*, he at once received News of their being arrived, and also that *Hassan Basha* was on the March, with a strong Body of *Turks* wherewith to reinforce *Tremizan*, and defend the Place in Person ; and also determined, in case he could not avoid it, to meet him in the Field and give him Battel. Hereupon the Count, taking an Oath of Fidelity from all the Chiefs of the *Moors*, declared, that his Resolution was to seek out the *Algerines*, and when he had beat them, he would then do what was to be done at *Tremizan* ; to do which he only stayed to be joined by his *Spaniards*.

Mean while the *Tremizansians* sent to intreat *Al-Mansor*, " not to bring thither the "*Spanish* Army, since they were ready to " comply in all Things, and would themselves expel the *Turkish* Garison." All the Answer they got was, " That People " who were Traitors to their Prince deserved " not to wear Heads on their Shoulders ; and " that the *Christians*, as Executioners, were " advancing to take off theirs."

Don Martin, being sufficiently reinforced marched away in Quest of the *Turks*, and sat down within six Miles of them; tho' his Scouts had assured him they were yet six Leagues distant. *Marmol* says, that when *Hassan Basba* found the Count so near, and so determined to fight him, he sent away a *Turk* of Quality, with a much-respected *Moorish* Santon, to treat with *Al-Mansor*, that he should appoint a Guard of Horse to conduct the *Turks* quietly from *Tremizan*, on which Conditions he would desist from all Pretensions. *Al-Mansor* so well liked the Proposal, that he complied. This is in the Main all true; but *Marmol* adds, that, " *Hassan* not daring to wait the Count's Approach, he turned away, flying towards *Algiers*." But the less partial *Haedo* tells the Story to this Purport.

A. D. 1548. The restless *Tremizanian*s, still in Commotion, a perpetual and incurable Discord reigning between Prince and People, again sent for *Hassan Basba*, offering the Sovereignty to him, if he would undertake their Defence, or to whom he would otherwise direct. He immediately set out with a Body of three thousand *Janizaries*, and one thousand *Turkish* Horse, besides which he had two thousand *Arabs* and *Moors* Cavalry, with eight Field-Pieces; which last, and all Requisites, were landed at *Tennez*. Arriving

riving at a River, within four Leagues of
Oran, in the direct Road to *Tremizan*, he
 there almost stumbled on the Count *De Al-*
caudete, who was waiting for him at the
 Head of six thousand *Spaniards*, accompa-
 nied by his Ally the King of *Tremizan*,
 with six thousand *Moorish* Horse. " When
 " *Hassan Basba*, (continues he expresly,)
 " found how near his Enemies lay, and that
 " they purposely waited his Approach, he
 " caused his Army to halt, and take some
 " Repose for that Night, with Design to
 " offer them Battel the next Morning. And,
 " doubtless, considering the Bravery of the
 " Troops on both Sides, and the unanimous
 " Desire they all had to come to Blows, the
 " Encounter must needs have proved a very
 " obstinate and bloody Dispute; had it not
 " fell out, that about Midnight, arrived in
 " all Haste a *French* Gentleman, named
 " *Monf. Lanis*, sent with two Gallies by the
 " King of *France*, to bring *Hassan Basba*
 " Letters of Condolence for the Death of
 " his Father, the *Captain Basba*, who died
 " in *May* last, of a Fever, at *Constanti-*
 " *nople*.*

Father

* Here I cannot forbear mentioning *L'Abbé De Vertot's* Words
 concerning the Death of that famous *Turkish* Admiral, viz.
 " When *Barba-rossa* returned to *Constantinople*, tho' he was more
 " than four-score Years of Age, he pass'd his Days and Nights
 " with the fairest of his *She-Slaves*. But carrying too far these
 " De-

Father *Haedo* goes on to this Effect. " No
 " sooner was this News confirmed to *Hassan*
 " *Basba*, not only by the King of *France's*
 " Letters, but also from the Envoy's Mouth,
 " but he was seized with a Grief scarce expres-
 " sible. Nor was this Excess of Grief centered
 " in him alone ; it reigned universal in his Ar-
 " my ; most of the *Turks* and *Renegadoes*, par-
 " ticularly the Officers, having served under
 " the defunct *Captain-Basba*, either at *Al-*
 " *giers* or elsewhere. For this Reason, the
 " very succeeding Morning *Hassan Basba*
 " entered on a Treaty with *Don Martin*,
 " and it was agreed, That the Prince his
 " Ally should remain Possessor of the *Tre-*
 " *mizanian* Throne, and at Liberty to ac-
 " knowledge himself the Emperor's Vassal :
 " The *Basba* promising not to molest him
 " on any Pretense ; and that they all remain
 " Friends. The Peace thus concluded, and
 " the *Algerine* Camp resting two Days more
 " in that Place, all bitterly bewailing the *Tur-*
 " *kish* Admiral's Death, *Hassan Basba*, mount-
 " ing a Jet-black Horse, with all Things
 " suitable to the Occasion, broke up and
 " returned to *Algiers*." Is this like *Mar-*
mol's not daring to face the Count ? &c.

" Debanches, he was found dead in his Bed, of this Excess, &c." How true soever this Article of his *Debaucheries* may be, there is certainly a considerable Mistake in the Article of *Age* ; since I can prove, from good Authority, that his Elder Brother, when kill'd in 1518. as has been observ'd, was but in his forty-fourth Year.

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Tho' I omit many Particulars, I cannot leave out a Feat of *Spanish* Prowess, told us by *Marmol* in a very pompous Manner. Certain *Spaniards* had obtained the Count's Leave to go to *Al-Mansor's* Camp, to take a View of the *Turks*, who by Agreement were to quit *Tremizan*, and were to march that Way. These observing the *Turks* Colours come flying on the Staff, and deeming it better became them to keep their Flag furled up in Presence of the Emperor's Banners, sent Notice thereof to *Don Martin*. Next Morning early, the Count sent away Captain *Sotomayor*, his Adjutant, with only four Soldiers, with Orders, that he should post himself directly in the Road by which the *Turks* were to pass in their Way to *Algiers*, and oblige them to take in their Colours. Captain *Sotomayor*, advancing up to their Van, ordered the *Turkish* Officer to take in that Flag; peremptorily telling him, "That he must not keep it flying in Presence of those of his Imperial Majesty, which were in the Field." The *Turks* very much exclaimed against this, saying, It was a Violence and Injustice offered them, since they had *Al-Mansor's* Pass: And immediately they sent to call him. He came; and, when he heard the Affair, he whisper'd the *Spanish* Captain, telling him, that the Flag belonged to his Nephew, the King of *Tremizan*,

Tremizas, and was by him sent as a Present to the *Basha* of *Algiers*. But Captain *Sotomayor* replied, "That since it was borne by a *Turk*, it must be taken in." *Al-Mansor* took it from the *Turk*, in order to furl it up. But the Captain, not satisfied, told him, "That he *must* return it to the *Turk*, that he might take it quite from the Staff." *Al-Mansor* did so: And the *Turk* took it off, and folded it up, tho' not without apparent Reluctance.

This truly heroic Exploit thus gloriously atcheived, we may fancy we behold our *Don* twirling his starched Mustachio, and strutting away as stiff as if a Stake had been driven thro' him; tho', for my Part, I cannot discern any thing to strut for in the whole Action.

Don Martin finding his Master's Orders thus compleatly executed, and with abundantly less Cost and Pains than he could have expected, would now fall upon the *Algerines*, notwithstanding the late Accommodation, whereby it was agreed, That *they should all remain Friends*. His View was upon *Mostaganem*, a considerable Maritime Town twelve Leagues East of *Oran*. But *Al-Mansor* refused to accompany him, as (says *Marmol*) was his Duty to have done; alledging for Excuse, "That as he was not sure how the Affairs of the Kingdom

dom stood, he must of Necessity repair to "*Tremizan*." Probably he began to be pretty sick of *Spanish* Arrogance; and besides, his own Business was done. On this Refusal (adds my Author) the Count flew in a Passion, telling him, "He might go where he thought fit, since himself alone was Man enough to take *Mostaganem*, and would do it without any Obligation to him." And so they parted.

Before the *Moorish* General's Departure, *Don Martin* went to *Oran*, and brought thence the Train of Battering Artillery, each Cannon drawn by twenty Pair of Mules. *August 21. 1548.* he arrived at *Mazagran* (a very ancient strong-built Fortrefs, about a League from *Mostaganem*) where his Army refreshed with the Abundance of Fruits there growing. The same Day he got to *Mostaganem*; and incamping on the Eminence fronting the Town on that Side, that very Evening he fired many Shot against the Town-Walls, which were answered by two small Cannon, till the same were dismounted.

Not to dwell on Trifles, some *Moors* Prisoners assured the Count, "That the Town was immensely rich, all the circumjacent People having there deposited their best Effects: That it contained more than twelve thousand Souls, the Majority of

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" which

“ which would surrender to the *Spaniards*,
 “ and were only awed, and made stand on
 “ the Defensive by forty-two *Turks*.” Here-
 upon, the Count continued a furious Battery
 for three Days ; which not taking the ex-
 pected Effect, he removed his Cannon to a
 Quarter where he hoped for better Success.
 We are to note, That a large *Spanish* Ga-
 leon, with other Shipping, lay before the
 Harbour. Wanting Powder, a Vessel was
 sent for a Recruit to *Oran* ; and in two Days
 it returned. That very Day the *Turks* who,
 as was observed, came from *Tremizan*, got
 into the Town. Having early Notice of
Don Martin’s Designs, they had taken a
 large Turn about, and had brought with
 them (says my Author) twenty five thou-
 sand *Moors* and *Arabs*, Horse and Foot.
 This Recruit of *Turks* gave Life to those
 within. However, a good Breach being
 opened, the Count sent eleven Battalions to
 the Attack, leaving three to guard his Camp.
 “ These advancing courageously, the *Turks*
 “ (says *Haedo* expressly) appeared in its De-
 “ fense ; and without flinching or giving back
 “ for a Moment, as any of them fell, others
 “ supplied their Places, and that with so de-
 “ termined a Countenance, as if each single
 “ *Turk* was alone sufficient to defend the
 “ Entrance.” Forty *Spaniards* at length
 actually reached the Top of the Breach, and
 there

there planted five Ensigns ; but they were presently tumbled down. To be short, the *Spaniards* were beaten off and pursued to their very Trenches. My Author owns they lost two hundred Men, and had above two hundred and fifty wounded. The Count (says *Marmol*) rallied his scattered Forces, and at last obliged the *Turks* to retire ; but he makes not their Loss considerable. Several (adds he) would have had the Count embark himself that Night on the Galeon, &c. there at Anchor, leaving his Cannon nailed up, and the Horses and Mules ham-strung : But he said ; “ He would sooner be torn “ Piece-meal, than be guilty of such Base-
 “ ness.” And he used such Diligence, that by Day-break his whole Army and Baggage were at the Sea-side, except one Cannon which he left nailed up, the Wheel of its Carriage being disabled by a Shot. The useless and wounded People were already on board. When he began his Retreat, two *Spaniards*, having deserted, gave Account of what was in Agitation, as also of what Counsel had been given their General. Very early in the Morning, the *Turks* sallied in good Order, and with them fifteen thousand *Moors* Foot, and three thousand Horse. “ But such was the Dread (says my Author) “ with which the *Christians* were seized, “ that, far from thinking on putting them-
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“ selves in a Posture of receiving the Ene-
 “ my, not one Soldier had any other View
 “ than how to save his Life by reaching the
 “ Ships.” The Count’s second Son, *Don*
Martin, seeing their Cowardise, snatching a
 Halbert, “ at that Time (*adds he*) more pre-
 “ valent than Shame,” compelled many to
 return out of the very Sea, thro’ which,
 void of all Consideration, they were attempt-
 ing to wade to the Ships at a good Distance
 in the Road. These he ranged as best he
 could. In short, *we are told*, the Pursuers
 were bravely repulsed, and returned faster
 than they came ; the Luggage all safely got
 on board, and little, if any Damage, *owned*,
 either in that Conflict, or on the Army’s
 Land-March to *Oran* ; tho’ it is said the
 Rear was closely attended. The Count got
 safe to *Oran*, having been fifty-seven Days
 absent.— How well soever the Count got
 off this Bout from *Mostaganem*, we shall soon
 find him again at it ; from which Attempt he
 never got off.

A. D. 1550. We are now come very
 near to the Period, from which Time we are
 not to expect any more News of the droop-
 ing *Tremizan*, as any other than Capital Ci-
 ty of the *Algerines* Western Province. The
 Diffensions among those wretched People
 continuing as fierce as ever, one of the Fac-
 tions addressed the victorious *Sherif* of *Fes*,
 intreating

intreating him to set on their Throne their *quondam* King, whom, some Years before, the *Spaniards* had forced to retire to his Court for Sanctuary. They grievously complained of their Oppressions from the reigning Prince, who miserably fleeced them, to gratify the insatiable Avarice of the *Spaniards*, his Supporters. This Proposal was well enough relished by the ambitious *Sherif*, and he readily embarked in the Affair; not, perhaps, for any great Love he bore either to his exiled Guest, or the oppressed *Tremizans*, but rather as it seemed to offer a Prospect of his annexing that Realm to the rest of his late Acquisitions:

A stout Army was soon raised, consisting of twelve thousand Horse, and as many Foot, including five thousand *Renegadoes*; which last were good Soldiers, all bearing Fire-Arms. The Conduct of those Forces he committed to his eldest Son, who was accompanied by a Brother of his, and by the pretending King of *Tremizan*, whose Cause he made Shew of espousing. The young *Sherifs* got easy Admittance into *Tremizan*, the Usurper being withdrawn to *Oran*. Nor do we find the *Spanish* Count offering to move a Finger in the Quarrel: Perhaps his late Retreat had not left him in a Condition. His *Mauritanian* Highness made no Stay there, but returned to the Field, leaving
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the City in Charge with his Brother : And all the Notice he took of the *Tremizanian* in this Affair, was the telling him, " That " he should bear him Company in his intended Expedition against the *Algerines*, " whom he was going to fall upon, and was " determined not to desist till he had carried " their very Capital," if he could.

Arriving on the Confines of *Beni-Aâmar*,* who, not daring to attend his Approach, retreated with their numerous Flocks and Herds,† under Covert of *Mostaganem*. Here the *Sherif* was in Suspense, whether he should fall upon those *Arabs*, from whom he might gain a very great Booty, or make an Attempt on *Oran*, which would be a much more honourable Exploit, if he prevailed : However, reflecting on the small Prospect there was of his succeeding in this, he concluded on attacking the *Arabs*. Being got within Sight of them, he heard the *Turks* were coming to give him Battel : Nor was it bare Rumour ; for *Hassan Basba* had no sooner Notice of his Progress, but he sent out five thousand *Janizaries*, with a

* A great Tribe of warlike *Arabs*, frequently in Alliance with the *Oran Spaniards* ; now much less considerable than they have been formerly. They are reported to have mounted twelve thousand gallant Horse. But with their Kindred, they mount as many more.

† As the Lands of these *Arabs* lie much nearer *Oran* than to this Place, and they were always too much Friends with the *Spaniards*, to be much in Favour with the *Turks*, it looks as if the Count had not got off so well as has been intimated.

thousand

thousand *Spahis*, and ten Field-Pieces, under the Conduct of three Officers, namely *Sefer*, *Ali Corso*, and *Hassan Sardo*. It is not said what *Moors* they had with them, but we suppose they had some, tho' the *Moors*, generally speaking, are not very fond of lifting their Arms against the sanctified Race of the *Sherifs*: As for the *Arabs*, they are not quite so scrupulous. These Officers, it seems, had Orders to avoid fighting the Enemy, if possible, till they had joined the *Beni-Aámar* Cavalry; by which it appears, that they were then uncommonly gracious with the *Turks*, and consequently must have quarreled with *Don Martin*, who, as I said, does not appear at all: Possibly, not for Want of Good-Will.

While the *Sherif* was taking a View of those *Arabs*, with a Design to be farther busy with them, the *Algerines* came in Sight, on the contrary Side, very unexpectedly. His Highness was not long in resolving on what he had to do: For, instantly turning his Horse's Head Westward, he made a speedy Retreat; driving before him a Number of Camels, &c. which he had amassed in his Passage. The *Turks* and *Arabs* pursued him vigorously, and came up with him in the very Place where *Barba-rossa* was killed. A desperate and bloody Encounter ensued, of several Hours Continuance, maintained on both Sides with equal Obstinacy. " For
(says

(says *Haedo*) “ if the *Turks* and *Renegadoes* “ of *Algiers* fought well, the *Renegadoes* “ of *Fefs*, all Fire-Arms like themselves, “ behaved with no less Bravery. But as “ the *Fessan* Cavalry was at length forced “ to give Way by those of *Beni-Aâmar*, “ their *Renegadoes* were also obliged to follow their Example. And then began a “ miserable Slaughter. Among the rest fell “ the Prince of *Fefs* himself, and the pretending King of *Tremizan*.” The *Algerines*, whose Loss was not inconsiderable, with their *Arabs*, followed the Blow, marching directly for *Tremizan*, with the *Sherif*’s * Head on the Point of a Lance. As for his Brother, on the first Notice of the Disaster, he posted away, with what Plunder he could scrape up, to carry these unwelcome Tydings to his ambitious Father. This younger *Sherif* was *Mulei Abdallah*, and succeeded in the *Tingitanian* Monarchy. Except a general Massacre, unhappy *Tremizan* underwent all the Miseries of Conquest, scarce any Thing but mere Life being left to the wretched Inhabitants. The three *Algerine* Commanders calling a Council, it was agreed, never more to restore it to the *Moors*, to leave it unprovided of a Number of *Turks* sufficient for its Defense. The three Offi-

* This Head was, for many Years, to be seen, in an Iron Cage, upon *Algiers* Wall, near the Gate called *Bet-Arun*.

cers casting Lots, to know which of them should be left Commander of the fifteen-hundred *Turks* they had appointed should remain there, it fell to *Alcayde Sefer*. The rest returned to *Algiers*, triumphant and rich with Spoils; where they were joyfully received by *Hassan Basba*, who was next Year recalled. But we shall anon hear of him returned, and very busy with our *Oran Spaniards*.

I have been the more particular in this Fact, wherein the *Spaniards* were not actually concerned, by Reason it gave them a main Blow: For they could do little Good in those Quarters after the *Turks* were settled in *Tremizan*; as from that Day they were effectually. *Haedo*, by his Silence, seems to put an absolute Stop even to the very Name of a King of *Tremizan*: But *Marmol* carries on the Title a little longer. He says, that the *Turks* restored the Throne to the same Prince who last fled away to *Oran*; but that his Sovereignty was curbed very much by the *Turkish* Garison: That he continued in good Amity with *Hassan Basba*, and with *Salha Rais*, his Successor: That being dead, *Salha Rais* set on the Throne a Brother of the said Prince, on Condition that all the Fortresses of the Realm should be in Possession of the *Turks*: That he consented; and they all had *Turkish* Garisons:

N

But

But some Time after, repenting his Concessions, on Account of the excessive Insolence and abominable Beastialities of the *Turks*, he began to talk of treating with the General of *Oran*. But the *Turks* getting Wind thereof, they alarmed the People both in Town and Country, insinuating, as if he would again introduce the *Christians* to destroy *Tremizan*; insomuch, that they grew outrageous, and so terrified him with Menaces, that in Fear of his Life he again fled to *Oran*; where, having continued three Years contriving how to compass his Restoration, he died of the Pestilence, leaving only a Son six Years old, who turning *Christian*, was named *Don Carlos* (*De Africa*, as I have some where read) on whom his *Catholic Majesty*, *Philip II.* afterwards bestowed certain Lands in *Castile*. If this Gentleman has any Posterity in *Spain*, I cannot but pity them, especially in one Respect and that is, they are liable to be insulted with the opprobrious Appellation of *Christianos Nuevos*, or *New Christians*, by every Scoundrel *Spaniard*, who is of those who can call themselves *Christianos Viejos*, or *Old Christians*; the most abject Varlet of all which Class may much better, as we say, *steal the Horse*, than the most nobly-descended of the others, may *look over the Hedge*.

As to what we have been treating of, I know so much of the Place and People, that happy would it have been for poor *Tremizan*, had neither *Turks* nor *Spaniards* ever beheld it. The bare Sight of the wretched, tho' noble and venerable Remains of that once large and beautiful City, have more than once brought Tears to my Eyes; and the doleful Stories told me by some of her ancient Citizens have set them flowing. Without Partiality, to give my own Opinion of People to whom I am not quite a Stranger, I must affirm, That even under the *Algerine Turks*, Vassals live much happier than any, especially if they are not native *Spaniards*, can do, who are absolutely such to the *Spaniards*. What the *one* has in *Insolence*, the *other*, in a most abundant Measure, has in *Arrogance*. For *Avarice*, I fancy, they may shake Hands. For *Cruelty*, the *one* will hold his Hand on humble Submission, which I seldom find the *other* will do. And as to what the *Spaniard* may, perhaps, come short of the *Algerine* in downright *Beastiality*, is made confounded Amends for in his fiery *Catholic Zeal* and insupportable *Bigotry*. Tho' it is certain, and very obvious, that some of the Natives of *Barbary* have always sided with the *Christians*, who had any Settlements in their Country, yet we are not at all to suppose they do it out of any

Love they really bear them, but for what they get by them, and out of Hatred to such of their Neighbours as are too strong for them, and by whom they have been insulted or injured : No, they detest all *Christians*, but mostly the *Spaniards*.

In the Times we were speaking of, the Inhabitants of those Parts were natural *Moors*, *Arabs*, *Turks*, and *Spaniards*. The *Spaniard* (particularly if a *Christiano Viejo*) as a Zealot, we may suppose equally hating, and hated by them all, yet making and made Use of occasionally, and as Conveniency required. The *Turk* rather contemns and despises them all, than really hates any of them ; since he is not what we may justly call a Bigot. The *Arabs* are no very great Zealots neither ; yet they detest the *Christians* chiefly on a Religious Score ; next as Interlopers : The *Turks* they hate as imperious Tyrants ; and the *Moors* they cannot love, because they themselves have highly injured them. Now the *Moors*, the original Proprietors of the Whole, cannot but hate them all, almost equally, since they justly look on them all as usurping Tyrants : But for the *Spaniard*, they abhor his very Name. This is really the very Case, as it stands between all these People : Yet we see any of them all, *Turk* or *Spaniard*, *Moor* or *Arab*, can hold a Candle to the Devil, whenever it suits his Conveniency.

veniency. The *Moors* and *Arabs* have a common Answer to make any who commends a *Turk*; " Since you like him so much (*say they*) why do not you take him home with " you ?"

Tho' it will be protracting my Digression, I shall give a Story, or two, which are not altogether remote from Part of the Subject I have been handling. They display one Branch of the Genius of the *Moors*, as to what Light they set *Christians* in. I find them in *Haedo*, who affirms the whole to be Fact, and I believe as much. He is telling us, among other bad Qualities of the *Moors*, that *greasing the fat Sow in the Rump* is as fashionable with them, as it seems to be here, or any where else: And adds ; That they are mighty Men at making Presents to those from whom they expect, or at least hope for double the Value; and in case they get nothing in Return for their Present, they complain to the *Cadhi*, or Chief-Justice, who commonly obliges the Party to pay for it. Thus it happened, in the Year 1579. to a certain *Genouese* Trader (*whom he names*) to whom a *Moor* had presented a young *Lyon*; and because the *Genouese* refused to give him near three *English* Yards of Scarlet Cloth (which he asked of him afterwards, and which was much more in Value than the *Lyon*) he was adjudged by the *Cadhi*

Cadhi to pay him for his *Lyon* six Ducats. And if a *Christian* presents them with any Thing, they say, they are not at all obliged to make him any manner of Recompence, or even so much as to thank him ; but that the same is their Due, and that GOD had ordained and put it into the Heart of that *Christian* to present them with the said Gift ; so that they ought not to return Thanks to any but GOD only for that Favour. ---Now for the two notable Instances which this Author produces.

When the Lord * *Maestre de Montessa* was General of *Oran*, a *Moor* of *Tremizan* went thither, as some of them daily did with the *Cafilas*, or Caravans which brought Merchandize ; which *Moor* presented to his Excellency a handsome Pair of Stirrops, for making which *Tremizan* was always famous. The General accepted them very courteously, and thanking him for his Present and good Will, ordered to be given him fifty Gold Ducats, and fine Scarlet Cloth enough to make him a Garment, which was worth twenty Ducats more. The *Moor* seeming extremely well pleased at his Excellency's Liberality, the Person who, by the General's Order, brought him the Gift,

* By the Title *Maestre*, this Gentleman should have been Grand-Master of some one of the three Military Orders. They are now all incorporated in the Crown.

put him in Mind, as did also another *Christian*, his Friend, who happened to be there, That he ought to go pay his Compliments to the General, and kiss his Hand for the Favour. To this the *Moor*, exalting his Voice, replied: " The General is rather
 " himself obliged not only to make me this
 " Present, but also to thank me, and that
 " not a little, for my Acceptance thereof ;
 " since it was not he who either gave it, or
 " sent it me, but GOD commanded him to
 " do it." This being told the General, he sent him back his Stirrops, with Orders to bring away both the Cloth and Money, and to tell him, " That GOD did now like-
 " wise inspire and command him to take away
 " what he had given him, since he was so
 " ingrateful, and was not sensible of the
 " Kindness shewed him." In like Manner (*continues he*) a few Years ago, at *Tanjah*, or *Tangier*, lived a certain *Portuguese*, who had cultivated a Friendship with a *Moor* of *Ferobo*, a Place six Miles from that City. When this *Moor* came to *Tangier*, with the Caravans, to sell Provisions, the honest *Portuguese* always lodged and entertained him at his House very kindly, shewing him a thousand Courtesies ; as in these Matters the Generality of the *Portugueses* have abundance of Humanity. It chanced that, in a Time of Truce, this *Portuguese*, and a
 c Friend

Friend of his, went to *Ferobo* ; and, wholly confiding in the old Friendship between him and the said *Moor*, whose Name was *Mahammed*, went directly to his House. When *Mahammed* saw him, far from asking him to come in, he would not even seem to know him. Hereupon the *Portuguese* said to him thus : “ How now, *Mahammed* ! is it thus “ that you return the many Civilities you “ have received at my House ? ” To this the *Moor* answered : “ Look ye, look ye, my “ old *Christian* Friend and Acquaintance, “ GOD Almighty commands the *Christian* “ to do Good to, and make much of the “ *Moor*, but not the *Moor* to do so to the “ *Christian*.” Hearing this, the *Portuguese* departed, not very well satisfied. Not many Days after, the same *Moor* returned to *Tangier* as usual, and, with the same Freedom as if the *Portuguese*’s House had been his own, went and alighted at the Door. The *Portuguese*, shewing him a pleasant Countenance, took him in ; when, making fast the Door, he laid hold on a good Cudgel, and belaboured his Ribs very handsomely, telling him all the while, “ That now GOD Almighty “ commanded him to use him just so.” The *Moor* looked on himself as highly affronted to be so treated by a *Christian* ; and, immediately on his Return, he went and complained to the *Alcayde*, “ That notwith-
“ standing

“ standing the Truce, he had been soundly
 “ drubbed, and very much abused, at *Tangier*,
 “ by a *Christian*. Not mentioning a Word of
why and *wherefore*. This seeming to the
Alcayde very ill, he instantly sent Notice of
 it to the Governor of *Tangier* ; loudly com-
 plaining, “ That such Usage should be suf-
 “ fered, especially in Time of Truce, and
 “ to a *Moor*, who brought Provisions to the
 “ City.” Instantly the *Portuguese* Governor
 sent for the said *Christian*, and was for hang-
 ing him, as a Violator of his Pass of Safe-
 Conduct, and a public Breaker of the Peace :
 But being intreated to hear the Fact related,
 the poor Man told him the whole Case, with
 the Causes which moved him to treat the
Moor in that Manner. However the Ge-
 neral, not satisfied, immediately caused him to
 be conducted to the *Moorish Alcayde*, that
 he might take of him what Satisfaction he
 pleas’d. As the *Alcayde* was a Man of Rea-
 son and Prudence, he would know the Bot-
 tom of this Fact before he proceeded. When
 he heard the Behaviour and signal Ingrati-
 tude of the *Moor*, with the Answer he had
 given to one who had always used him so
 kindly, he had him laid down in his Pre-
 sence, and well regaled with a second hearty
 Batch of Bastonades : And to the *Portu-
 guese*, on account of his being so honest a
 Man, as he heard he was, and for having be-
 O haved

haved in this Affair after the Manner he had done, he ordered a Horfe and some Money to be given; with which he returned well contented to *Tangier*.—How my Readers relish these large Digressions, I know not: But this I can assure them of, That the Stories seem to be literally true: I myself having known many full of this rascally Pride, and with the very same stupid Sentiments with regard to Favours done them by *Christians*. And even at *Algiers*, where the Government is wholly *Turkish*, the very best Man in the Place is strangely looked on, if seen over and above familiar with, or tolerably civil to *Christians*, of what Rank soever. I will give one Instance, to which I was both Eye and Ear-Witness. A new *Renegado*, who, before his Defection, had received some Civilities from Monsieur *Durand* the Elder, (then *French* Consul at *Algiers*, and a very worthy Gentleman) sitting in the Porch of the *King's House* (as they call it) seeing him coming, stood up to receive and compliment him. This being observed by a supercilious Varlet of a *Zealot* (which Sort of People I always found the worst to deal with, wherever I have been) he came up to him, as soon as the Consul was gone in, and, in *Lingua Franca*, or *Bastard Spanish*, said, “ How “ came you to stand up, and bow to that “ *Infidel!* Knowest thou not, that thou art
“ now

“ now a *Musselman*, and that it is beneath thee to stand up for even the Emperor of “ the *Christians* ?” The Profelyte coloured, and promised to do so no more. This is Fact. But let us return to make an End with our *Spaniards*; of whom many are apt to say, That, for the Generality, they come little short of any of these People, in their Contempt of those over whom they may bear a Superiority; and how far they exceed and out-strip them all in one detestable Quality, the World *knows*, and History *blazes*. Indeed, neither *they*, nor the *Portuguese* (who were long triumphant in some Parts of these Quarters of *Africa*) ever durst attempt shewing any of their *fiery Zeal* for *Propagation* among those intractable *Infidels*; because they were not *strong enough*. What might have been done, had the adventurous *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, escaped and carried the Day, is a Question: But he did not.

A. D. 1556. The brave *Salha Rais*, *Basha* of *Algiers*, having in the Years 1554. and 1555. taken the Capital City *Fess*, and wrested *Bujeya* from the *Spaniards*, was strongly bent this Year to do the like by *Oran*. To forward this, the Grand Seignor had granted him six thousand *Janizaries*, thirty vast Cannon, and forty Gallies. The *Basha*, being in good Readiness, set out to

Receive those Recruits; but was the same Day seized with the Plague, brought back, and in twenty-four Hours died. Such were the Preparations made for this Expedition; such the Resolution and Fortune of this Man; and such the Opinion all Men had of him, that, to all human Appearance, he would assuredly have carried his Point had he lived: And we may safely venture to say, That by his Death the *Spaniards* escaped a sore Scouring. What occurred thereon was, in short, this; The Militia chose *Hassan Corso* * to succeed him; and he set out with a Land Army, while the *Levant* and *Algiers* Gallies, in Number seventy, rowed away to join him. But he had scarce begun his Hostilities upon the Place, when a positive Order (*which now would not be much regarded*) came from the Grand Seigneur, that he should instantly desist and return. Which was obeyed; tho' not without abundance of grumbling of the whole Army and Fleet; but to the no small Satisfaction of the *Spaniards* of *Oran*, not a little down in the Mouth at their recent Expulsion from *Bujeya*, a Place of good Importance.

A. D. 1557. *Hassan Basba* being a second Time returned Vice-Roy of *Algiers*, before he was well seated in his Post, had the un-

* The disastrous Adventures of this his unfortunate Favourite *Renegado*, as also the Life of his Patron *Salha Rais*, are well worth the Perusal. *History of Algiers*, Vol. II.

welcome Tydings, that the King of *Fefs* had taken *Tremizan*, in which was only a Garrison of five hundred *Turks*. Instantly this bold *Basha* set out, and heard by the Way, that the Enemy had left it; but not till he had miserably pillaged it. Without touching there, he marched on; and coming on the Western Army under the Walls of *Fefs*, there ensued a bloody Encounter, wherein neither Side could boast of much Advantage: And pretty late in the Year the *Turks* got home again, in no very good Plight. All this, you will say, relates not to our *Spaniards*. True; we are now coming to them.

A. D. 1558. " This Year (says *Haedo*)
 " happened that disastrous Expedition against
 " *Mostaganem*, so inauspicious to *Spain*;
 " in which fell *Don Martin de Cordoua*,
 " Count *De Alcaudete*, Captain-General of
 " *Oran*, whose Fall was accompanied by the
 " Slaughter and Captivity of many Thou-
 " sands of *Spaniards*." This *Don Martin*
 (of whom we have heard so much before)
 judging this a fair Occasion to fall on the
Algerines, had raised in *Spain* a Supply
 of twelve thousand Men, with which he pro-
 mised the Conquest of at least good Part of
Africa to his *Catholic* Master. About Mid-
June he got over with the best Half of them, *
 leaving

* Tho' *Haedo* says precisely thus, yet *Marmol* unfairly seems to be for sinking upon us more than half this Army; since he mentions

leaving the remaining four thousand to be conducted over by his second Son, *Don Martin*; which arrived not till *August*. With these, and what Forces he had before, and a fine Train of Artillery, he marched away (but deliberately) early in *August*, and reached not the Place before the *Arabs* had got together a Flying Body of six thousand Horse; and *Hassan Basba* himself was come almost in Sight. This Deliberation spoiled all (*as my Authors urge*) for had he made a little more Haste (*say they*) he doubtless had carried the Day. But the *Basba's* five thousand *Fanizaries*, one thousand *Spahis*, ten Field-Pieces, with the six thousand *Arab* Cavalry, got together merely thro' his Delay: Nay, these were, it seems, soon joined by at least ten thousand Mountain *Moors*.

“ The Count (continues *Haedo*) was soon
 “ informed of the *Basba's* near Approach by
 “ a *Renegado* Defenter: And tho' he might
 “ easily have carried that defenseless Town,
 “ and then have expected the Enemy, yet,
 “ as he was naturally courageous, even to
 “ Excess, he would not listen to such whole-
 “ some Advice, tho' given him by many.
 “ So that the *Turks*, &c. coming up, he
 “ was forced to fight them at great Disad-

mentions only six thousand five hundred present at the Action; though more than once he owns the Lots of very many Thousands of brave Spaniards.

“ vantage,

“ vantage, and at length lost his Life va-
 “ liantly fighting, his whole Army being
 “ utterly routed, and *more than* twelve thou-
 “ sand *Spaniards* made Captives. This un-
 “ happy Encounter was on *August 26. 1558.*
 “ With which Victory, and so enormous a
 “ Number of Slaves, and among then *Don*
 “ *Martin*, Marquis *De Cortes*, the Count's
 “ Son, *Hassan Basba* returned to *Algiers*,
 “ joyful and triumphant.”

Marmol is more particular, but not so im-
 partial : Take from him also a few Extracts :
 Soon after the *Turks* were retired from be-
 fore *Oran*, the Count *De Alcaudete* passed
 over to *Spain*, strenuously solliciting for six
 * thousand Recruits, to reduce *Mostaganem*,
 which would be a main Step towards the
 much-desired *Conquest* of *Algiers* ; urging
 that the *Sherif* of *Fess*, and some powerful
Shieks of *Arabs* had assured him of Assistance.
 Tho' the Business was much canvassed at
 Court, yet he obtained his Request. Some
 indeed said, That *he asked too few Men for*
such an Enterprise. He embarked from
Malaga, in 1558. accompanied by a great
 Number of Nobility and Gentry of *Andalusia*
 and the Kingdom of *Granada.* In *August*, the
 same Year, he set out from *Oran*, with six

* Well sunk. What, no less than half!

thousand

thousand five hundred Men *upon List*,* with *some* Cannon, *drawn* by the *Soldiers*.† Having made several Turns, he arrived at *Mazagran*, where he had a smart conflict with *Moors* and *Arabs*; who were soon put to Flight, and pursued to the very Walls of *Mostaganem*; the *Christians* having cut off more than three hundred *Turks* and *Moors*. [*What not one Spaniard lost in this smart Conflict!*] With this *Victory* the *Count* ordered his People to return to *Mazagran*, expecting there to find Refreshments, the *Soldiers* being much fatigued with Hunger, Thirst, and Weariness, and no Appearance of the nine Brigantines gone to *Oran* for Provisions. But, alas! what was there expected, was all safe shut up in *Mostaganem*, which Place the *Algerines* (says he) were determined to defend. While the Army was ruminating on this Disappointment, four Gallies, and five Galeots of *Algiers*, were seen to pass by, with each of them one of the looked-for Brigantines in tow. This was really a terrible Disaster. These Gallies returning from the Coast of *Andalusia*, where they had been plundering *San Miguel*, a Village belonging to the Count *De Niebla*,

* We must then conclude, that the bigger Moiety of this Army were *not upon List*.

† The World must not know, that the *Infidels* got a too-great Booty.

fished up these Brigantines loaded with Am-
 munition, &c. from *Oran*. The *Alcayde* of
Tremizan also took Care that none of the
Arabs or *Moors* conveyed any Thing to
 the *Spanish* Camp. All this causing much
 Discontent, *Don Martin* called a Council, and
 was advised to march back, and incamp un-
 der the Walls of *Oran*, there to observe the
 Enemy's Motions, 'till some Order could be
 taken to supply the Camp; and in the mean
 while his Troops might be making Excur-
 sions. Others were for instantly attacking
Mostaganem, the carrying which Place would
 be an abundant Supply. This, and only
 this, was approved of by the valorous Count:
 And as he wanted Shot for his Ordnance,
 he caused that Defect to be supplied by his
 Soldiers making Shot of the hard Stones
 of the Arches of *Mazagran* Gates, and
 then marched away to the Attack. The
 few *Turks* there led out a good Number of
Moors, &c. to encounter our Van; but with
 Loss they were repulsed, and so warmly pur-
 sued, that several Soldiers actually scaled
 the Wall, and there planted a Banner. And
 it is held for certain, that the Town would
 have been taken that Day, had not the Count
 founded a Retreat; nay, the Ensign was pu-
 nished for acting without Orders. That
 Night the Count intrenched before the Town,
 and planted two Cannon to batter the South-
 P Side

Side of the Castle. The *Spaniards* seized a small Suburb, from whence the *Turks* had much galled them with small Shot; yet they got it not easily, the *Turks* having broke thro' the Walls of the Houses in order to communicate and assist each other upon all Occasions, and killed abundance of our best Men from the many Loop-Holes they had made. Six Companies were put here as a Guard. Next Morning, as they were about to alter the Battery, News came, that the *Turks* of *Algiers* were at hand, and that *Hassan Basha* must needs be there, by the Number of Standards, &c. This, tho' confirmed by many, the Count would not believe, affirming it "not possible for the *Algerine* Camp to have made such Haste; "and that it could be only a Body of " *Moors*, who had got some *Turkish* Colours "to amuse his Army, and make him raise "the Siege." And to convince such as insisted on the Fact, he sent his Son *Don Martin*, with a few Horse, to take a nearer View of what had caused that Rumour; who soon found it to be no other than the *Turks* Camp, already pitched. The young Count earnestly sued his Father for four thousand Men, wherewith he would have fallen on the fatigued *Turks* that Night. All the Answer he got was; "That it was not "at all convenient." His Son and some Captains

Captain
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Captains replied; " That otherwise the
 " *Turks* would be sure to fight him in the
 " Morning." " They dare not ! *said he* :
 " If they offer it, they are lost." That ve-
 ry Evening, without letting any one into
 his Design, he ordered each Musqueteer two
 Spans of Match and a Pound of Powder ;
 and a little after Midnight he raised the
 Camp very silently, and marched away for
Mazagran; all which was done so precipi-
 tately that many of the Sick and Wounded
 were left; and before the Army was got
 down the Descent, the Out-cries of those
 Wretches were plainly heard, while those
 from the Town were hacking them in Pieces.
 Neither would the Count perform that (only
 four Miles) March so speedily as he might :
 A Wheel of a Cannon-Carriage breaking, he
 caused the whole Army to halt while it was
 mending. By no Persuasions would he be
 prevailed on to leave that Cannon, as his Offi-
 cers would fain have had him, buried in the
 sandy Road over which they were marching,
 and where probably the Enemy would never
 have found it. The *Basha* had early No-
 tice of these Movements; and by Day-break
 got up with the Rear, not far from *Maza-*
gran. To cut short, my Author adds, That
 the Army being out of all Order by Reason
 abundance of the Soldiers quitted their Ranks
 and ran to drink Water, that they were fu-
 riously

riously attacked by the *Turks* on one Quar-
 ter, and by the Natives on several : “ And
 “ so great, so general was the Confusion,
 “ that neither the Count, who led the Van,
 “ nor his Son, who brought up the Rear,
 “ could, by any Means, prevail on the asto-
 “ nished Soldier to turn Face to the tempestu-
 “ tuous Invader ; but, in the utmost Dis-
 “ order imaginable, every one sought the
 “ Avenues into the Town, being hotly pur-
 “ sued, wounded, and slaughtered by the
 “ murdering *Turks, Moors, and Arabs.*” By
 this Time also those on board the nine Gal-
 lies were leaped * ashore, and the *Alcayde* of
Tremizan was arrived. “ And to compleat
 “ the Horrors of that inauspicious Day,”
 towards Evening, their remaining Barrels
 of Powder, placed by the Town Wall, took
 Fire, killing five hundred Soldiers. The
 Count seeing the strange Confusion this fatal
 Accident occasioned (the whole Army dis-
 banding, and flying into the Town) he deter-
 mined on a desperate falling on the Enemy
 with the few he had yet within Call, hoping
 so to keep off the *Barbarians*, till his People
 might be again brought into some Order.
 “ So clapping Spurs to his Horse, with a
 “ matchless Intrepidity, he charged the
 “ thronging *Infidels* ; crying out to his
 “ *Spaniards, San Jago ! San Jago ! To 'em*
 “ *Boys ! To 'em ! The Victory is ours. The*
Enemy

* *Mazagan* is but two Miles from the Sea.

“ *Enemy is routed and ruined!* ” This, tho’
 he did, and said twice or thrice, so far was he
 from being seconded, that every one made
 what Speed he could into the Town. Away
 speeded the Count to a Postern of the For-
 tress, thinking to force the Fugitives to a
 Sally. But so excessive was the Press in the
 Gate-Way, that, not able to penetrate, he
 spurred on violently, in order to break thro’;
 when his Horse, rearing upright, threw him
 off backward in that narrow Passage: “ When
 “ (every one more regarding his own Safety
 “ than his Duty to his General, and that
 “ Nobleman being somewhat in Years) he
 “ was presently smothered, and trampled to
 “ Death under the Feet of his own Soldiers,
 “ and this Place rendered famous by the
 “ disastrous Death of that noble General,
 “ and the Loss of so many Thousands of
 “ brave *Spaniards*, who there either drew
 “ their latest Breath, or lost their Liberty.”
 His Servants buried him in the Chief *Mosque*.
 The *Turks* instantly broke in, and made
 Prisoners the Marquis *Don Martin* (who was
 preparing for a Defense) with the whole Re-
 mainder of the *Christian* Army: Which, we
 may remember, *Haedo* ingenuously owns to
 have been, *more than twelve Thousand*.
Hassan Basba posted Guards all Night at the
 Gates, to keep the *Arabs*, &c. from massa-
 cring the Captives. In the Morning their
 Chiefs

Chiefs petitioned him for their Share of Slaves. He gave them eight hundred ; and as they seemed to want them only for the *Merit* of killing them, all those unhappy Captives presently perished at the Points of the *Arabs* Lances. The *Basha* hearing that the slain Count had been buried in the *Mosque*, had the Body taken up and brought before him; saying, " he desired a Sight of so valiant a " Personage." The Corpse he sold for two thousand Ducats to the Marquis his Prisoner, who sent it to *Oran*. This *Don Martin*, we are to suppose, also ransomed himself not long after : For we shall presently again hear of him at *Al-Marfa*. And as to this long Extract from *Marmol*, it is pretty plain that he endeavours at making the very *best* of a *very bad* * *Market*. The Curious may, also in *Marmol*, meet with the Account of the terrible Slaughter and Captivity of *Spaniards*, *A. D.* 1560. in the Island *Jerba*, between *Tunis* and *Tripoli*.

A. D. 1560. *Hassan Basha* would have returned the *Dons* their Visit, but had tight Employment cut out for him by the Mountain Princes, or Kings of *Cucco* and *Beni-*

* The *Algerines* bear still in Remembrance this *Spanish Expedition*, and often talk of it. When, a few Days ago, I told the Envoy, that our *News-Paper* talked of the *Spaniards* intending to pursue their *Conquest* of *Africa*, and would march away to *Algiers*, his Excellency, with a disdainful Smile, asked me, " If " they had a Mind for a second *Maxagran Bout*?"

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Abbas; and afterwards by his mutinous *Fanizaries*, who at length, viz. in *October* 1561. seized and sent him in Irons to the Grand Signor. But being returned this Year, for the third and last Time, he came resolved to *kill two Birds with one Stone*, that is, return the *Spaniards* their Compliment, and conduct his insolent *Turks*, where he was certain at least some of them would be * knocked on the Head. †

* As many of them were; at which it seems the vindictive *Basha* was not sorry, nay, he contrived how to make an End of the rest, by leading them to the Siege of *Malta*, where this *Basha*, with his *Algerines*, behaved with most remarkable Bravery. See *Marmol*, *L'Abbé De Vertot*, and my *History of Algiers*.

† By some late Confabulation with one of the *Algerine* Envoy's Domestic, who has been at *Oran*, I am enabled to rectify some Mistakes in my *Description* of that Place. My Heedlessness and Forgetfulness of what I had only viewed, after the Manner I said, and so long since, made me not only misname some of the Fortifications, but even, in a Manner, to sink one good Fort, and likewise to omit naming the very best Castle there. The Fort is what the *Spaniards* call *Torre de los Santos*, or the *Saints Tower*; which must be, I believe, the same which the *Moors* call, *The Castle of Lances*, as I said. It is pretty near *Cannastel-Gate*, which is that facing the East. As for the *Red-Castle*, it is no other than that on the Eminence, as I observed, and which the *Spaniards* call *Ras-al-Cassar*; and, upon Recollection, I remember it does look redish. The two Castles down on the Plain, are named by the *Spaniards*, as I said, *S. Andreas*, and *S. Felipe*, but by the *Moors* this last is called *Borj al-Fided*, or, *The New Castle*; and is the same which put me in such a Fright. The others are all right, I verily believe. But *Marmol* tells us of a Tower called *Torre de la Hacha*; which I know not what to make of, except it be one of those I called *Look-outs*. He says, it is not far from the *Saints Tower*. The *Algerines* here all allow *Oran* to have seven Castles: Too many by far (I tell them) for the *Spaniards* to get so easily.

A. D.

A. D. 1563. so early as *February*, this Year, he set out for *Oran*, with the greatest Power of the proper Forces of *Algiers* only, I any where meet with: For he led thence fifteen thousand Foot, and a thousand *Spahis*, all Fire-Arms. Having married the King of *Cucco's* Daughter, that Prince furnished him with a Body of ten thousand *African* Cavalry. His Artillery, &c. went by Sea, on thirty-two Gallies and Galeots, attended by three very large *French* Transports. His Intent was first to get *Al-Marfa*, on account of its great Importance for the Port; but as his Fleet was not arrived, he employed himself in taking Views of *it* and *Oran*. "The
 " *Christians* of neither Place (says *Marmol*)
 " would never venture out, tho' the Enemy
 " daily braved them at their very Gates, a
 " considerable while before the Siege began,
 " *Don Alonso* (who had succeeded his Fa-
 " ther) thinking it very well if he could
 " stand his Ground within Doors. One
 " Morning, indeed, as the *Basha* in Person,
 " with an Engineer, and a Party of Horse,
 " was viewing the Walls of *Oran*, Part of
 " the Garison sallied to disturb him, with
 " whom he had a Skirmish of three Hours,
 " without any very great Loss on either Side.
 " However, the *Christians* were repulsed;
 " and the *Basha*, having leisurely done what
 " he came about, went and did the like at
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* See Ma
 p. 423. wh
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“ *Al-Marfa*, and Fort *San Miguel*, lately
 “ built for the better Defense of that large
 “ Fortrefs.”

But would I go about to relate all the Particulars of this Campaign, I should do two Things neither convenient nor pertinent, that is, swell this Pamphlet too much, and give my Readers rather a *History* of the *Algerine Turks* than of the *Oran Spaniards*. To avoid both which, I shall content myself with advancing only what is just necessary, and with * referring the Curious to the Books where their Curiosity may at large be gratified.

The Sum of the whole is this: Before the Siege of *Al-Marfa* was formed, the *Turks* Camp being near *Oran*, they found Means to work on the slender Garison of the *Saints Tower* to give up that Fort, on Promise of Liberty; which Promise, it seems, was not kept. The *Basha*, thinking this a good Step gained, left there half his Army, and lay down above the strong new Fort *San Miguel*, near *Al-Marfa*; which important Fort was at length evacuated, but not 'till the Garison therein had most bravely sustained several very furious Assaults. Then the

* See *Marmol*, Book V. and the *History* of *Algiers*, Vol. II. p. 423. where is a large Abstract of *Marmol's* minute Narrative: If the Attacks were gallant, equally gallant was the Defense.

Town of *Al-Marfa* and its other Fortifications were violently attacked, and no less resolutely defended by the brave Marquis *De Cortes, Don Martin*, of whom we have spoken, and who governed there under the Count his Brother. *Hassan Basba* (whose Bravery *Marmol* highly extols) enraged at such Opposition, sent for all the Camp left at *Oran*, and made terrible Efforts to gain the Place, before he expected Succours from *Spain* should arrive; which would have been there before, had not most of the *Spanish* Gallies been lately lost in a great Storm; so that they were obliged to wait for those of *Italy*. The furious *Basba* getting nothing but *severe* Blows in Return to the *smart* ones he distributed, and * forty-five Royal Gallies (of *Naples, Sicily, Genoua, &c.*) full of Recruits, &c. appearing in Sight, he was glad to raise his Siege in great Haste, and to march away homewards; as were his Galeots on the Coast to row away *for dear Blood*, to escape the Clutches of such unwelcome Visitors. My Author assures us the *Turks* lost abundance of their best Men, *which I am very apt to believe they did*; and that the *Christians* had also some Loss, *which is also very likely*. Certain it is, the *Turks*

* Thirty three conducted by *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, and twelve belonging to Prince *Gio. Andrea D'Orta*.

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lost abundance of Men before they could carry these Places twenty-four Years ago, tho' the *Spaniards* have now, it seems, got them for bare asking for!

This brave Defense made by *Don Martin* the Younger, against the terrible Attacks of his *quondam* Patron, *Hassan Basba*, is the only really-notable Exploit I can meet with, concerning these *Oran Spaniards*, in any of the *Spanish* Writers: And positively, had they done any great Feats, Father *Haedo* (who wrote so near to, and so long after these * Times) would not have been wholly silent.

What I can find in *Mariana's* Continuations (who so *heathenishly* misname the People they mention, that I am not able to make any Thing of them) is only this: ---Under 1622. one says: " *Don Juan Manrique*, Vice-Roy of *Oran*, has gained some Victories over the *Moors*, and among others one which has bridled their Pride this Year." ---Again. " *October 7. 1632.* The Marquis " *De Flores-Davila*, Governor of *Oran*, " gave a great Battel, at the Mouth of the " *Sahara*, or Desert, twenty Leagues from

* His *History of Algiers* (a thin Folio) tho' not Printed (at *Valladolid*) till 1612. yet has a *License* to it dated *October 6. 1604.* And his *Dedication* to his Name-sake, *Don Diego de Haedo*, Archbishop of *Palermo*, and Viceroy of *Sicily*, is dated *Christmas-Day, 1605.* His *Work* concludes with the Year 1596. and to that Time from 1570. he names many Things and Persons as an Eye-Witness.

“ *Oran*, to the *Venerables*.” [What *Moors*
 or *Arabs* he here means, the Lord above
 knows, for I do not.] ----Under 1651. we
 have a whole Batch of I scarce know what;
 However take it; *viz.* “ From *Oran* came
 “ Intelligence, that those of (1) *Viadala*
 “ and *Zal*, having rebelled, had fortified
 “ themselves near the River, and from thence
 “ made Excursions, doing Damage to our
 “ Places. The Marquis *De Flores-Davi-*
 “ *la*, Governor of *Oran*, sallied, and falling
 “ on them, brought away two hundred Slaves,
 “ with their Chief, and in the Pursuit above
 “ one hundred more of them were killed.
 “ That of those of (2) *Alafefes* and (3) *Uliz-*
 “ *brain* (which two Tribes consist of more
 “ than a hundred (4) *Aduares*) he brought in
 “ one hundred and ten Slaves, and retired
 “ fighting the whole Day with upwards of
 “ four thousand *Moors*, of whom more than
 “ three hundred were killed by our People.
 “ That in *May*, this Year, he made another
 “ Sally, on an Expedition to the River *Sique*,
 “ from whence he got a hundred and six
 “ Slaves: And that at other Times he had
 “ taken Captives above a hundred and twelve
 “ Corsairs, who disturbed those Places. He
 “ made another Sally against more than three
 “ hundred *Aduares* of (5) *Venarafel* (who
 “ are the most valiant *Moors* of all that
 “ Country) and in the Plain of *Abra* took
 “ Slaves

“ Slaves two hundred and fifty Souls. Hav-
 “ ing Notice, that eighteen Leagues from
 “ *Oran*, in the Mouth of the *Sahara*, a
 “ (6) *Moravito* had built a Village, with
 “ many Strong-Holds, and that a River ran
 “ thro’ the Place, he sent against it a stout
 “ Captain, with two hundred Foot and one
 “ hundred and twenty Horse, to pillage the
 “ the same, with which arriving there about
 “ Midnight, and applying two Petards to the
 “ Gate, he broke in, plundered it, and took
 “ one hundred and fifty-five Slaves, among
 “ which were some (7) *Moravitas*.” *

And to conclude, the Sum of what I
 there find, under the Year 1661. is no other,
 than that this *Historian* learns from *Oran*
 (a strong Place in *Africa*) “ That *Omar*
 “ *Aga*, Governor of *Tremizan*, had, by
 “ firing the Corn of those *Arabs* who were
 “ in League with *Oran*, tyrannically com-
 “ pelled them to renounce their Obedience
 “ and Submission to his *Catholic* Majesty, in

* Now, the best Interpretation I can give to any of the above
Barbarized Names is this: (1) May be *Beni-Abdallah*; as for
Zal, I know nothing of it. (2) and (3) may be *Al-Aatoff* and
Ouled-Ibrahim. (4) Is *Dwouwar* (in the Singular *Douwar*) which
 are the *Arabs* Villages of Tents. (5) I take it to be *Beni-Rashid*.
 (6) Should be *Morabbote*, which is a *Moorish* Saint: And by (7) I
 take it, he means *Sainteesses*, or *She-Marabbotes*, probably some of
 the said *Santon's* Family.---As for the Names in the next Para-
 graph (which is the last I meet with in *Mariana's History*, relating
 to *Oran*) I shall give them as I fancy they should be. The others
 I gave as I found them, by Way of Taste.

“ somuch

“ somuch that they either would not, or
 “ durst not supply that City as usual ; which
 “ City soon became very sensible of the great
 “ Damage it sustained by this their Defection,
 “ since the Marquis *De Leganez* was whol-
 “ ly deprived of all Means to support the
 “ Garison ; and well knowing how highly
 “ it imported him to reduce by the Rigour of
 “ Arms the Obstinacy of those *Arabs*, with
 “ whom neither Exhortations nor Promises
 “ of Favours would prevail, he set out
 “ against them, with three hundred and fifty
 “ Foot, and a hundred and eighty Horse.
 “ About six Leagues from *Oran*, on the
 “ Banks of a River, he fell on those he met
 “ with there ; of whom he took Slaves sixty-
 “ four Persons, together with a Dozen Hor-
 “ ses, and a good Number of other Cat-
 “ tel. Of this speedy Notice was carried to
 “ *Omar Aga*, This *Turk* in Haste got to-
 “ gether his Troops, and went to wait his
 “ Excellency’s Return at the Fordage of
 “ another River, where the Marquis valo-
 “ rously engaged him, in which Rencontre
 “ were killed fifteen *Turks*, a noted *Shiekh*,
 “ and some other Persons of Account ; and
 “ even *Omar Aga* himself was in great Dan-
 “ ger of Captivity, and had been taken, had
 “ not his Guards supplied him with a Horse,
 “ his own being shot under him. With this
 “ Loss the *Turks* retired to *Tremizan*, as did
 “ the

“ the *Marquis* to *Oran*, with his whole
 “ Prize, where he was received with uni-
 “ versal Applause. Not content herewith,
 “ he made a second Sally from *Oran*, with
 “ a like Number of Infantry and Cavalry,
 “ and went to chastise some other *Arabs*,
 “ who lay incamped seven Leagues from
 “ that City; which Expedition he happily
 “ executed, over-powering nine *Aduares*, or
 “ Tent-Villages, in which were one hundred
 “ and thirty two Tents and nine hundred and
 “ eighty six *Moors*, with sixteen thousand
 “ Head of Cattel of all Sorts. With these
 “ Exploits, the daring Insolence of *Omar*
 “ *Aga* was frustrated, and the *Arabs* of the
 “ Neighbourhood of *Oran* were reduced to
 “ their Obedience, and the Harvests there-
 “ abouts remained secure from Invasions
 “ from the *Turks*, with abundance of Repu-
 “ tation to the Catholic Arms of his Maje-
 “ sty, thro’ the Valour of the *Marquis De*
 “ *Leganez*, and all without farther Loss to
 “ our People than the Wounds received by
 “ the Captains *Don Felipe Ramirez de Arel-*
 “ *lana*, and *Don Antonio de Arreaga*, with
 “ those of about fourteen Private Men of the
 “ Cavalry and Infantry.” Thus he.

Of such *Exploits* as these (even admitting
 all to be Fact, as the Author relates it) pro-
 bably there may have been several which are
 not come to my Knowledge ; nor do I find a
 Syllable

Syllable more worth Notice in all the *Spanish* Books I have rummaged: And if they omit them, who else is to record their Deeds of Prowess?

Certain it is, the *Algerines* have not been often at Leisure, or in the Humour, or perhaps not in a Condition to make a formal Attack upon *Oran*. The late *Mulei Ishmael*, Emperor of *Morrocco*, had once a Mind to make an Attempt, at least he talked of it. But he thought better on the Matter: For, besides the little Good he could have done, he must have had the *Algerines* Leave to have come into their Territory. But as an Instance either of the *Spaniards* Weakness or Pusillanimity, or of the *Algerines* daring Presumption, at least for three or four score Years last past, I can assure my Reader, that nothing has been more usual than for the Western *Bey's* common Tribute-Camp, * near Harvest-Time, to incamp on the open Plain, almost within Reach of some of their Cannon, daring the Garrison to sally: And as for Intrenchments, the *Algerines* never make any at all on such Occasions. Nay, one of the *Beys*, to my certain Knowledge, sent the *Spanish* Governor a Challenge to meet him singly; to which the Answer was; " That his Commission did not extend so far,

* Scarce ever exceeding Seventy Tents of *Turks*, reckoning Twenty to a Tent, only Sixteen whereof are *Janizaries*.

other-

“ otherwise he would readily comply with
 “ his Request.” Nor is it less certain, that
 on those Occasions it generally cost the *Dons*
 a good *Present*. So that the Case was
 strangely altered from what it had been
 formerly.

A. D. 1688. The Expedition of *Ibra-*
him Hoja, Dey of *Algiers*, against *Oran*,
 made this Year, is still fresh in every one's
 Mouth. His Camp consisted of not quite
 four thousand *Fanizaries*, with about eight
 hundred *Spahis*, and some Thousands of
Moors and *Arabs*. He had, I think, Three
 small Mortars for Bombs, and about ten not
 large Cannon. They talk very much how
 near they were carrying the Place, especially
 one Day, on which their brave *Bey*, *Shaâ-*
ban Zenacci, was killed, while he was lead-
 ing on the Bulk of the Army to attack the
 very Gate, crying out all the while, *Al Beb!*
Al Beb! The Gate! The Gate! A Country-
 man * of ours says, “ The *Spaniards* had
 “ Orders not to sally out, but to be on the
 “ Defensive.” But before the Siege had
 been formed much above two Months, the
French arrived (the third Bout) to bombard
Algiers. Some Bombs having fallen into the

* Mr. *Joseph Pitts* of *Exeter*. See his *Account of Algiers*, &c.
 He was present at this Expedition. And really his Accounts are
 generally very good; and particularly, his *Pilgrimage to Mecca*
 extremely well agrees with all the Relations I heard from Pilgrims.

Hafna, or Treasury, * a Courier was instantly sent with Notice of this Accident to the *Dey*, who immediately posted away to take Care of the Public Money. He stayed not long; but having left Matters, as he thought, in good Order, returned to prosecute the Siege of *Oran*. But a very few Days after, being in the *Aga's* Tent, a Courier arrived from *Algiers*. Laying Hand on a Letter directed to the *Aga*, and having the Curiosity to open it, he there found a positive Order to the same *Aga*, to seize him, and clap him in Irons. Starting up, he ran to his Tent, and taking what Gold, &c. he could well carry about him, and mounting, with only three trusty Friends, he escaped. Nor did he ever after appear at *Algiers*. The Case in short was this: *Haj Usain*, *Mezzo-morto*, † (whose *Kayia*, or Lieutenant he had formerly been) who was *Dey* before him, and was then *Basha*, and to whose Care he had intrusted the Treasury, and indeed all Affairs, ambitious of being both *Dey* and *Basha*, had formed so strong

* Meaning the common smaller Treasury in the King's House, which is always in Use to pay the Soldiery, &c. not the grand one, above in the *Casabba*, or Citadel (which none of the Bombs could reach) where, by universal Report, they have several Millions in Store.

† Or Half dead, so nick-named by the Italian Slaves, for his weak sickly Look. Afterwards the famous Captain-Basha, or the Grand Seigneur's High-Admiral. He was obliged to fly for his Life from *Algiers*.

a Conspiracy against him, that even the *Aga* of *Algiers* (who is the only Officer the *Fanizaries* are bound to obey) had joined with him in that Letter, which would infallibly have proved fatal to him, had he not done as he did. Upon this, the whole Camp was instantly in Confusion: “ And (says Mr. *Pitts*) had the *Spaniards* nick’d that Opportunity, and made a Sally upon us, they might have done great Execution. But they did not; and the next Day we drew off our Forces, and marched back to *Algiers* again.” Thus, we may venture to say, the *Spaniards* of *Oran* did at that Time escape a Scouring.

And these are all the Times I can any where hear of (nor do I believe there ever was one more) that the *Turks* of *Algiers* attacked the *Oran Spaniards* in good Earnest, during the whole Series of Years they held that Place, till within fifteen Months before they wrested it (together with *Al-Marfa*) from them, in the *Autumn* of 1708. after it had continued just one hundred ninety and nine Years in their Possession; as had been *Al-Marfa* three Years longer. Of which, and some other Requisites, I am now to treat in my CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

A brief Narrative of the Taking ORAN and AL-MARSA, by the ALGERINE TURKS.—Some farther Particulars of the Oeconomy and Conduct of the CHRISTIANS (especially of late Years) while possessed of the said Places; and of what Advantage they were to SPAIN.—What Hand the ENGLISH are said to have had in their Reduction from the SPANIARDS; with the Benefits accruing to our Nation, while they were in the TURKS Hands.—The most probable Causes of the SPANIARDS late strange and unexpected Success (if all be true) in this their easy Recovery thereof; as also, how all this mighty Bustle may probably terminate: Including some Account (from the Author's own Knowledge) of ABDI BASHA, the present DEY of ALGIERS, and of MUSTAFA BEY, late Governor of ORAN.

MUSTAFA, Dey or King of Algiers, in the Year 1706. returning from his not very successful * Campaign against Tunis, was strangled before he entered the City, and in his Stead Usain Sherif Hoja was advanced to that supreme Dignity. The new Dey, possibly to ingratiate himself with the Soldiery, displeased with their late Expedition against a Mussalman People (especially as they came not off with Flying Colours) undertook the Reduction of Oran. But finding the Treasury almost empty, he moved in Council the having

* Of this Expedition (at which I was present) a particular Account shall be given, in my intended Continuation of the History of Algiers.

Recourse

Recourse to the *Casabba* for a present Supply; and tho' the Treasure there conserved is looked on as sacred, never to be touched but in Extremity, yet he obtained the Miliria's Consent to fetch down 100,000 *Dollars*; which Indulgence he the easier got, since he produced somewhat to deposit there by Way of Equivalent. This Equivalent was the fine *Makasma*, or Pistol-Belt, richly beset with Jewels, and taken upon *Ibrahim Sherif*, late *Bey**, or King of *Tunis*, whom they had then brought in Irons Prisoner. [But I find I have not Room to enlarge.]

This *Dey*, not being of a very Martial Genius, committed the Conduct of his Camp to the same *Mustafa Bey*, who has now lost *Oran* so fillily (if I may say so) and who had been about six Years *Bey*, or Viceroy of the West†. In the Spring of 1707 it set out; and consisted of 200 Tents § of *Turks*, and about 700 *Spahis*: As for the Country *Moors* and *Arabs*, they flocked in as to a Religious War. Their Artillery, Mortars, &c. went by Sea. The *Bey* soon formed the Siege of *Oran*; and in a few Weeks *Merjejo*, or *Santa Cruz*, capitulated; the Garison of which ancient Castle, I believe, had their Liberty, as agreed on: The only ones the *Turks* really did keep their Word with. The sole Apology any of them ever make, when taxed with that Breach of Faith,

* For above 100 Years last past, the *Bey* of *Tunis* is the supreme Magistrate, and the *Dey* is become his Subordinate. Whereas at *Algiers* the *Dey* is the Supreme, and the *Beys* of the Eastern, Western, and Southern Provinces are absolutely his Subordinates. It is a Piece of History too long to insert here, how *Algiers*, *Tunis* and *Tripoli* came to be governed by *Deys* and *Beys*, and not by *Bashas* as heretofore.

† Except a sixteen Months Interval, when *Mustafa Dey* imposed on him an Inmate for the better Half of his Province, namely *Tremizan*, with the whole circumjacent Domain. The new *Bey* of *Tremizan* was a stout old *Turk* named *Mahammed Haj Ouglou*, and was the Person who sent the *Spanish* General a Challenge, as I observed in a preceding Page.

§ Of twenty Men each, as I observed, including the *Baluc-Bashee*, *Odd-Bashee*, *Azji* and *Wikil-Harj*, which we may interpret, the Captain, Lieutenant, Cook, and Steward; which last has no Arms at all, and the Cook only a small Hatchet, and perhaps a Pistol or two.

is;

is, " That the *Spaniards* and *French* are the only *Christians* with whom they least mind keeping Promises; " as being People who never mind theirs!" The *Jews Castle*, or *San Gregorio*, was the only Castle taken by Storm; and no more than five *Spaniards* (some say but three) escaped with Life. One of these I knew, called there by no other Name than *Capon*, as he was, being castrated. This resolute Eunuch (who had more the Aspect of an Old Woman, than any I think I ever beheld; nor had he the best Qualification attending those Demi-Males, I mean a good Voice for Singing) when the *Turks* broke in, ran with a Pair of loaded Pistols to the Powder, and there stood with them in his Hands ready cock'd and pointing at the Barrels. The advancing Enemy made a Halt, bauling out to him; " Devil! " what are you about?" But *Capon*, nothing regarding all their Threats or Wheedles, swore at them desperately, and assured them; " That he would not surrender " to any but the *Bey* in Person". In vain several fine *Turks* were brought to represent him; for he only railed at them " for a Crew of treacherous, lying Scoundrels; " since he should know the *Bey* better than all that came " to, by his great black Whiskers." At last came the *Bey*; to whom he said thus: " Do you, my Lord General, on the Faith of a good *Cavallero*, promise me " good Quarter?" " I do, returned he; and thou art a " brave Fellow." On which, he fired off his Pistols in the Air, and flourishing them over his Head, laid them at the *Bey's* Feet. I have stole Room to relate this notable Fact, which may absolutely be depended on, or else himself, and some thousands more of all Sorts, have concertedly amused themselves with telling me a reiterated Heap of monstrous Lyes. His Name was *Feronimo*; but I forget his Surname. Generally speaking, the *Turks* want a Soul for generous Actions. The Eunuch had Quarter for his Life indeed, but lost his Liberty; yet he was really held in better Estimation than usual. But the highest Promotion he ever arrived at, was, upon *Uzan Hassan's* coming to the Camp, to be appointed his said Excellency's *Alcayde al Kleb*, or Governor of his Dogs; having a good Tent of his own, with three *Spaniards* and a *Negro Christian* to attend him: His main Perqui-

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sites were all the Wild Swine they killed; and his Tent was a great Rendezvous of Merriment for *Christians* and *Renegadoes*.

As I must be Brief; before this *Dey* had governed quite a Year, *Beftash Hoja*, with only his Son-in-Law *Uzan Hassan*, and five more resolute *Turks* (all whom the *Dey* had banished, and terribly bastonaded most of them) returned privately from *Tunis*, and, early in the Morning, boldly seized the *Dey* on his Judgment-Seat. *Beftash* made himself *Dey*: The poor deposed *Sherif* was (bare enough and sickly) put on board a Bark, and got to the Mountains, where he soon died; and *Uzan Hassan* (since Matters were in a promising State at the Camp) would needs have the Honour of reducing *Oran*. When that City had, I think, but one or two Castles left, the * Governor, Priests with their Trumpery, Women and Children, *Moors* (who could hope for no Quarter) and in short the whole least-useful *Contents* thereof, crossed over to *Spain*; which Crown had nothing left thereabouts to be called its own but *Al-Marfa*, which held out (weakly enough at last) till pretty late in the Autumn of 1708. and then surrendered. The wretched Remnant of the *Spa-*

* This Governor was (or I am very much mistaken) Marquis *Caraffa*, a *Neapolitan*. When he thought not proper to stand his Ground any longer, he deputed, to supply his Absence, a notable *Cavallero*, very famous in that Country, named *Don — de Villa-Alba*, a Gentleman born at *Oran*, and General of the Cavalry. He was made Captive at *Al-Marfa* with the rest, and died not long since at *Algiers*, being never able to regain his Liberty, tho' several Thousands of Ducats had often been offered for his Ransom. The Reason of this was, a certain Message he sent the *Bey*, importing, " That he doubted not but he should soon have the * Satisfaction of cutting off his Whiskers, and of making him lead his Horse to Water at *Madrid*." And I was told the *Bey's* Answer was; " That he would assuredly ere long make him hold his Horse by the Bridle, while he drank at *Ain-Rabbat* ; " which is a fine Watering-Place in the high-Road by the Sea Side not far from *Algiers*. The *Turk* was as good as his Word, as to making him Water his Horse: But I never heard, that he meddled with the *Don's* Mustachos. But sure it is, that this *Bey* was constantly a *Spoke* in the Wheel of his Redemption; nay, I am told he allowed the *Deys* a Sum of Money yearly on that very Account. In *Barbary* his Name is corrupted into *Ben Telba*.

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miards (if I forget not, scarce 1000) were indeed in a miserable Condition; and, as I was informed by several of them, chiefly thro' their own Nastiness, in exonerating their Filth all about the Terrasses, the Rain-Water whereof supplied their Cisterns. Indeed, they had not much Provision left, except Wheat, whereof they had great Abundance, but wanted Mills to grind it, having only the *Moors* small Hand-Mills, and themselves either wounded, sick, or quite spent with continual Toils: But their Water was not drinkable. Many lay rotting above-ground for Want of Burial, and the few Women left alive were sad Objects. The *Turks* go not about to deny, that the Reduction of these Places cost them at least 3000 Men; and, very probably, there perished twice as many *Moors*, who swarmed thither for the Merit of being brained by a *Christian*: Which idle Whim of such *Zealots*, more especially such of them as are *Predestinarians*, as all *Mussulmans* are to a Man, hurries Multitudes out of the World, either by Sword or Pestilence, long before their natural Times. Let this suffice.

Spain indisputably had a considerable Loss in this Reduction of *Oran* and its noble Port. Whereas *Ceuta* * (in the Maintenance whereof *Spain* so obstinately perseveres) is very far from returning any Thing to quit Costs; the Garrison there being perpetually cooped up within that scanty Circumference, and unintermittingly alarmed by their most unfociable Neighbours. But the *Spaniards* of *Oran*, even when at their lowest Ebb, always found Means to prevail with some of their Neighbours to be communicative. The *Arabs* who were most generally in League with those *Oran Spaniards* (and whom they call *Alarbes*, or *Moros de Pazas*) are *Beni-Aamar*, *Hajez*, *Ouled-Zeyr*, and some others (all whom I take to be different Branches of one formerly very potent Tribe, or Clan) and therefore looked on, by all the rest of the Natives, as little better than *Christians* in *Masquerade*, and accordingly trusted and beloved. The common *Spanish* Garrison, I observed, was only 500 Horse and 1000 Foot, with some few *Moors*, and their Families, settled there

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and in Horseman's Pay, on the Account I shall mention presently. The *Spanish* Cavalry there (all Light-Horse, * mounted and armed like *Moors*) were what they called *Hijos de Oran*, Sons of *Oran*, Natives, speaking *Arabic* naturally, and were regarded as a Sort of Gentlemen. But the Infantry were used scarce one Degree better than Gally-Slaves, few, if any of them, being other than transported Criminals: And accordingly, they were ever watching Occasions to desert to the *Turks*, as many did, † and more would have done, had they not dreaded falling into the Hands of the *Arabs* in Alliance with *Oran*; and even most of the Officers were there rather by Force than Choice. It has been remarked, That for many Years (ever since the *Oran Spaniards* began to decline, and durst not appear abroad so triumphantly as heretofore, as having no *Conquests* in View wherein to employ large Recruits from *Spain*) the *Renegadoes* of *Algiers* (formerly in very great Repute) declined abundantly in all People's Esteem; which was attributed to there being among them so many from *Oran*, who were commonly most abandoned shameless Varlets. With the *Turks* it was a usual Saying; *Waharan-dan Heyr gelmeffs*: i.e. "No Good can ever come from *Oran*."

As to the gainful Trade the *Spaniards* drove at *Oran*, which has occasioned its being termed their *Little Indies*, their *Arabs* supplied their Markets very plentifully with Grains, Dates, Oils, Hides, Tallow, Wax, Wool, Honey, Butter, Cattel, &c. which, to a very great Advantage, they transported over to *Spain*. But their most gainful Commerce of all, was Human Flesh; I mean Slaves. How they came by them was thus: Their Spies, who were always *Arabs* or *Moors*, having sure Notice where any of those Itinerant Towns we spoke of (belonging to such as were in Enmity either with

* Which the *Spaniards* term *A la Gineta*.

† During the Siege, the *Renegadoes* on one Side, and the Soldiers on the other, were continually meditating how to get away. Of six *Spanish* Engineers (which I heard were all they had) four came over to the *Turks*, and were not a little instrumental in taking some of the Castles. They all turned *Mussulmans*, and were put into whole Pay. None of them lived long: Two I think were poisoned.

themselves, or the Spaniards, or both) had incamped for any Time, they repaired to the General, proposing to him a *Gazia*, a *San Fago*, or a *Thieving-Bout*, call it which you please; for there you have it in *English*, in *Spanish*, and in *Arabic*. If the Proposal was approved of in Council, the Time of setting out was fixed (the sooner the better, lest the *Birds* should be flown) and if the Prey were Men likely to make a good Defense, the General went in Person, with, perhaps, half his Garison. Cannon they never took any; as indeed what Use for such Arms against People sleeping in Tents? Besides, should they fall into the Hands of the *Turkish Infidels*! — The half-famished Infantry were forced to hoof it along very tightly, to keep Pace with their Cavalry; which indeed they did pretty well, the *Spaniards* being a light-timbered Sort of Gentry. And we are to note, that such Expeditions were commonly undertaken in the Absence of the *Turks* Tribute-Camp, which always returns home in Autumn; and in such Intervals the *Spaniards* and their Allies were, in a Manner, Masters of the Country for a few Miles about: For, as we know, *When the Cat is away, the Mice will play*. If the setting out was by Night, the *Jornada* might be judged to be either very near, or very far; for the generous Way (practised throughout *Africa*) of falling on the destined Prey, is to surround them at or before Day-break, when they may be supposed to be in their soundest Sleep: Man, Woman, and Child (after they were left as good as quite naked) were his *Catholic Majesty's* Share of the Spoil, deducting the Dues of the *Spanish* Captors; and whatever else could be either carried or driven off the Premises, was legal Plunder for the Auxiliaries: Not but the *Spaniards* might keep what they could bring away in their Pockets or Knap-sacks. Sometimes those Adventurers have met with broken Bones, and many of them have come short home: Yet the Mischiefs they did were but too great. The Spies had commonly a Reward rather suitable to the Service done his *Catholic Majesty* and the *Catholic* Cause (for so it was worded) than adequate to their Villany. From this laudable Traffic arose the greatest Advantages *Spain* had by keeping *Oran*; and which cannot be called inconsiderable; and that on more than one Account; since its hungry Coasts were not only

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only cheaply supplied with Provisions, as also the Gallies and *Dons* Houses crouded with Slaves, but a good Number of the Scum and Offal of *its* People were thereby rendered far more useful than they could have been even on board *its* Gallies, which never can be *taxed* with having done any very extraordinary Feats; and, in my *History of Algiers*, I have, even from their own Writers, produced several Instances of their contemptible *Nothingness*.----But I must not forget informing my curious Reader concerning the *Moguttuzin*, i. e. those *Moors*, or *Arabs*, who I observed were settled at *Oran*. These, or most of them, were Villains of a darker Hue, as having belonged to *Clans* who neither had, nor ever would have the least Communication with *Spaniards*; but, on Account of some perhaps trifling Affront done them at home by private Persons, would occasion the utter Destruction of the whole Tribe. Sinking away to *Oran*, the vindictive Rascal demands Audience of the General, tickling his Ears with the Assurance of a grand Prize. Tho' this is Music, yet his Excellency will proceed with Caution; and deliberately, if the Juncture will admit of Deliberation: A Thing much in Use with *Spaniards*. A formal Bargain is to be struck up; but first the General must know; "What Number of Fighting Men, and particularly of Fire-Arms, this Intelligencer's distrustless Relatives can raise; whereabouts they lie; and how many Families he insists upon saving." All this settled, and put under *Black* and *White*, the Traytor is informed, "That every Tittle shall most religiously be observed; * that he shall not fail of the usual Reward of 500 *Dollars*, entered into the *Moors* Cavalry; have a Habitation for himself and Family, if he has any; and shall be at his free Option, whether he will remain *Mussulman*, or become a *Convert Catholic*." This is likewise drawn up, signed and sealed. Then this Guide is gravely given to understand; "That, for the better Security of his *Catholic* Majesty's Troops designed for the *Exploit*, he must not think much of conducting them, with his Hands fast secured behind him, and his Legs under the Belly of the Jade he is to guide them on, and so

* Otherwise we shall lose our Customers.

“ to continue ’till the Prize shall be taken, and the whole Action over.” Assuring him withal ; “ That it is not out of any real Diffidence his Excellency has, in the *Honour* or *Veracity* of a Person who has the Mein of so Brave a *Cavallero* as himself, but that it is a necessary Precaution, always practised.” * To such Methods also *Spain* owes Numbers of its Slaves. About three hunderd of these *Demi-Spaniards* (tho’ an *Old Christian Spaniard* would be consumedly angry to hear one call them so, *malgrè* their Services) were of the first who considered how much it concerned them to get out of *Barbary* when the keeping *Oran* began to be despaired of : And the Survivers of them, as I am pretty well assured, had no small Hand in carrying over the *Spaniards* thither again this Bout ; at least as far as perpetual egging them on would do ; well knowing that to be the sole Means left them ever to hope for again breathing the languished-for Air of their Native Soil. Some of them once wrote a very moving Epistle to the late *Mulei Ismael* ; supplicating him, “ to admit them a Refuge in his Dominions ; ” expressing themselves extremely desirous of “ being delivered from *Darkness*, and once more enjoying the *Light* ; ” and the whole in a most repentant Strain ; which it was well for them fell not into *Christian* Hands. That Tyrant answered them somewhat ambiguously ; “ That, he was at a Loss to guess, what Business (they not being Slaves) could have carried them over into so *Infidel* a Country ; but that, in case their Lords, the *Algerines*, refused to receive their Submission, his Dominions were open to all faithful *Mussulmans*.” But, on second Thoughts, they judged they knew them both too well to trust either, and so continued where they were (tho’ sick enough) not failing to spur up the *Spa-*

* This, or to the very same Purport, I have had, *viva voce*, from both *Spaniards* and *Moors* : Whereby we see, that the lotty, supercilious *Spaniard* can *dance* and *sweeten* as well as another, when to his Purpose.

niards at every Opportunity. * What may have been the State of these Fugitives, during their twenty four Years Abode in *Spain*, as to their *Conversion*, I am a Stranger to it: But I could never learn, that the *Bald-Crowns* were ever busy with them at *Oran*: Nor can I gather (as I somewhere observed) that any of the *Catholic* Garisons in *Africa* (at least in those Parts of that Continent) did ever much deal with *Missionary Apostles*, as elsewhere; as rightly judging, from the innate Intractability of those incurable *Pageantry-Haters*, that the least Tincture of such a Procedure would infallibly impede the bringing any *Grist* to the *Temporal Mill*, and be of very small Benefit to the *Spiritual one*. This may suffice for a Taste as well of the *Conduct*, *Oeconomy*, &c. of these *Oran Spaniards*, as also of what Advantages were therefrom accruing to *Spain*.

As to what *Hand* the *English* are said to have had in the Reduction of *Oran*, &c. twenty four Years since, it is in short this, as I have often had it in common Discourse at *Algiers*: The Report there went very current, that Part of our Fleet appeared before *Oran*, when the *Algerines* were besieging it, summoning Marquis *Caraffa* to surrender the City to the Commissary, then on board, sent to demand his Obedience to his present *Imperial Majesty*, then *Don Carlos, Tercero*, King of *Spain*:

* His *Algerine Excellency* here informs me, of the Interception of a Parcel of their Letters, in a Bark, directed to some of their respective Relations, spurring them up to side with the *Spaniards*, if they came. But the *Bey*, who saw them, was more reasonable than to molest any of those People on that Score. Now I recollect, there were a Crew of Wretches (I think about one hundred) whom the *Turks* sent away to *Algiers* in Fetters. They inhabited a poor Hamlet very near *Oran*, and picked up a Living by doing the *Spaniards* Drudgeries. Linked two and two, they were employed in some Public Works, particularly in mending the Way over the Mountain *Amal*, which is the only Road the Camps can take to go Eastward; some Part of which before was intolerable, and is since again much spoiled by the Waters. Its Beginning is about thirty Miles from *Algiers*, and ends at *Al-Weyd Zeyton*, or *The River of Olive-Trees*, about four Hours good March. In less than a Year, the *Turks* set those poor Devils at Liberty. They were called *Giza*.

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On which Condition, the Place should be powerfully succoured. All the Answer they affirm the uncourteous Marquis to have returned is; "That he would far rather surrender to *Turks* than to *Lutherans*." Upon this, add they, the continual Cruising of *English* Men of War thereabouts terrified the intended Succours from venturing to approach, and finally occasioned the Loss of both those Places. Of all which I say, I know nothing but from common Report in *Barbary*. A farther Branch of the universal Report was, that *Robert Cole*, Esq; our then Consul (a great Favourite of the *Algerines*) was very deep in this whole Affair; which, in Reality, he never much seemed to deny. His apparent Satisfaction at all the *Turks* Successes; and his public Rejoicings when *Oran* was reduced, were all extremely ill taken by the *Spanish* Faction. Doubtless, that high-spirited Gentleman, that true Lover of his Country, highly stomached that unworthy, that insolent Reply of the zealous *Catholic* Marquis. But this is undeniable Fact, as our said Consul's Reverend Chaplain* can also affirm; That, when he died some Years after, the inveterate *Spaniards* were so outrageous, that the *French* Consul † was forced to cane several of the Slaves of that Nation, before the Corpse could be got into its Grave; they making a furious Clamour to have the burning it, or throwing it into the Sea, as a *Heretic*, and professed Enemy to God and the *Holy Catholic Belief*, and which was worse (*said some of them*) the main Cause of the Loss of *Oran* and *Mazalquivir*, as they elegantly have it. Nor is it less true, that *Moors* were hired, for many Days and Nights, to watch the Body from being insulted in its very Dormitory. True *Christian* Charity! Thus much is all I can advance, as to the *English* having any *Hand* in the *Spaniards* losing, or not better defending *Oran*. And as to the Benefits our Nation, in particular, reaped from thence, while the *Algerines* were there, it is notorious, that the

* Dr. George Holme, now Rector of Hedley, near Farnham, in Surrey. † Monsr. Gabriel-Antoine Durand, who died not long since, and whose elder Brother I mentioned in Page 98.

Benefits were far from being inconsiderable. It has been allowed, that our Armies, and those of our Allies, in *Spain* must infallibly have perished, had they not been supported from *Barbary*; and *Oran* is none of the worst *Barbary* Corn-Markets. Our *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* (long may they remain ours) had constantly a great Portion of their daily Subsistence from this very Market. But what enhances our Obligation to that Place, and its late Owners, was, That no other Nation whatever was suffered to have a Resident there, or indeed any Trade at all. The *French* long urged for a Share in that important Commerce; but, to my own certain and positive Knowledge, could never obtain even a patient Hearing. Indeed, about a Year since (as I am informed by the *Algerine* Envoy) they did get thither a Sort of Agent, who, in Requital, has (*it seems*) returned the *Turks* the worst of Offices he could have done them, as I shall presently observe. If all this was not some Advantage to us, in particular, I know what will be counted such. But let us draw towards the Conclusion of our CONCLUSION.

Abdi Basha, the present *Dey* of *Algiers* (whom one of our pleasant Sea-Captains, who saw him not long since, calls his *Monocular* Highness) has since *May*, 1724, enjoyed that Dignity with general Applause. He is an Old-stander there, and has gradually passed thro' several of the most important Charges of the Government, particularly *Bay* or Vice-Roy of the Southern Province, and *Aga* or General of the *Arab* Cavalry; which latter beneficial Post he had held some Years. I doubt whether the *Algerines* ever had a Chief so universally beloved, or so capable of governing that unruly Militia. His Example is good, his Disposition mild and benevolent, yet withal a strict Lover of Justice, and can be very stern upon a proper Occasion: All which good Qualities render him very estimable, even in the Eyes of the Natives, who seldom bear any hearty good Will to their imperious Masters the *Turks*. As to his Person, he is a large-timbered, robust Man, upwards of Sixty, having lost one of his Eyes by the Small-Pox, and, as I hear, continues to wear very well; which is no Wonder

der among those temperate People, who, generally, are in Constitution Twenty Years younger than most *Europeans*. On account of the Loss of his Eye, he always went by the Name of *Kûr* (or *Blind*) *Abdi*, according to the *Turks* Way of *Nick-naming*. He was ever noted for his Esteem of the *English* preferably to any *Christian* Nation: And I may venture to affirm, that the Country never enjoyed more Peace and Plenty than since his Accession.

Mustafa Bey, late Governor of *Oran*, is also a natural *Turk*. It is now some few Months more than thirty Years, that he was made *Bey* of that Western Province of the *Algerines*, and resided at *Tremizan* till the Reduction of *Oran*, which conquered City was ever after the Place of his constant Residence, where he lived in abundantly greater Splendor, in every Respect, than did his Principals the *Deys* of *Algiers*, who indeed very little affect the Pageantry of Grandeur. Acquainted well with the Disposition of the *Turks*, he would never after trust himself in their Power, but once, when he ventured to *Algiers* with the Camp, which, I think, was the very next Year after *Oran* was taken. His Lieutenant * always supplied his Absence, in the Camp or elsewhere among *Turks*, none of whom he would admit into his Presence, otherwise than conducted by the Arms close held by two of his Guards, and first well ransacked for offensive Weapons: All which I know to be true. So that we may suppose, that if he had laid aside his Diffidence and Precautions, he would not so long have enjoyed his Regality, his immense Wealth, nor even his Life. At his first Promotion (for I remember him very well) he seemed to be towards Forty: His Stature mean, nothing robust, but very active and lively: His Complexion brown, inclining to yellow; his Beard quite black, kept short cut, with a Pair of Whiskers remarkably large and prominent. On this very Account, all the *Arabs* and *Moors* (when out of his Hearing) call him *Abou-Shla-*

* A very brave experienced *Kul-Oglou* (so they term the Sons of *Turks*, born in *Barbary*) who has not long been dead. His Name was *Alcayde Mustafa Monferate*.

gom, which the *Spaniards* have well translated into *Bigotillos*, which we may re-translate into *Little-Whiskers*, to oblige such of our Readers as may not know but that Word (to be met with of late in our *News-Papers*) may be this old Gentleman's real *Turkish* Name. No, his *Turkish* Nickname (and few are without one) is *Kaik-Oglou*, which alludes to a certain upright Strut he used to have (when younger, we may suppose) as not being willing to lose any of his Height. And to assure the Curious that this same *Spanish* Word *Bigotillos* is not merely a *Nom-de-Guerre* now given him by the modern News-Writers, who have Occasion to bring his Name in Question, I shall produce a Distic from a Song the *Oran Spaniards* were wont to make themselves merry with, while the *Algerines* were beleaguering them:

*Si vas al * Mahála diga a Bigotillos,
Que venga mañana, á comer † Alvillos.*

Which signifies only this: "If you go to the Camp, tell *Little-Whiskers*, that he come hither to-morrow, to eat some *Musquet-Balls*." — Upon this Head, these brief Animadversions will satisfy any reasonable Reader.

I mentioned this *Bey's* immense Wealth; and he must infallibly have been vastly rich: He monopolized almost the whole Commerce of the Country, and carried on a very considerable Trade in the Country Products with the *Christians*, but chiefly with the *English*. As Land cost him nothing at all, and Cattle very little, he is credibly reported to have prodigious Hoards of Corn in *Matamores* under Ground, from the Labour of more than 3000 Pairs of Oxen which he yearly kept at the Plough. True, he had in his Pay 2000 *Kul-Oglous*, with several Hundreds of *Negroes*, *Renegadoes*, and *Christian* Slaves, most, if not all of them very gallantly cloathed, armed, and mounted: Those being his Guards; and indeed those in whom he solely confided, I mean with regard to the little Confidence he would repose in the *Turks*; towards whom he al-

* So *Turks*, &c. call a Camp.

† A certain large Sort of Grapes, so called in *Spanish*, which being hard even when ripe, the Poet thereto alludes.

ways acted with Justice, and allowed them their Dues, yet was circumspect enough to hold them, as I said, at Arms Length. But whether the *Renegadoes* and *Christian* Slaves were Guards much to be trusted when the *Spaniards* came, is a Matter which will bear questioning. He was likewise, by his own, his Sons, and some of his Relations Marriages with Daughters of the most powerful *Shiekhs*, allied to several *Arabs* and *Moors* of considerable Consequence in those Parts: But even they, like all the World, are People not always overmuch to be trusted in Extremities, or depended on in Adversity.

Thus have we seen what *Oran* has been till now. And concerning this late easy Conquest thereof by the *Catholic* Arms, we must as yet be content with what Accounts we have had in the Public Papers, which shall not here be repeated. By what I can gather from Discourses with *Haj Mahammed*, the *Algerine* Envoy here, who has been shewn some private Letters from Consuls, Merchants, and Captains, the main Causes of the *Spaniards* unexpected Success are these. — The *Dey* of *Algiers* had repeated Intelligencies from *Christendom*, that the *Spanish* Armament was absolutely intended against *Algiers* itself; and accordingly very great Preparations were there made to give it a good Reception. Not that *Oran* was neglected, being always kept extremely well provided with all Necessaries. The *Bey* of *Oran* had got together a fine Body of Cavalry to assist at *Algiers* on the first Notice; and on the Fleet's Appearance sent a Courier to the *Dey*. The *Spaniards* anchored in a Bay somewhat West of *Al-Marfa*; and the *Bey*, at the Head of about 22000 Men, mostly Horse, went to receive them; but such was the Fury of the Artillery from the Gallies, &c. that he could not impede their landing most of their Troops in tolerable good Order. When landed, they had an Encounter, in which the *Spanish* Cannon were of great Service; nor was the Ground fit for Cavalry: So that we are to conclude the *Bey* was repulsed. Thus ended the first Day. On the Morrow the *Christians* were on the March, and the *Bey* was on the Mountains above them to try what Advantage he could make; but could not hope to do much Good till reinforced by the Camp from *Algiers* (of 6000 *Turks* and 10000 *Moors*) which he knew was coming with all Speed. We are to consider, that the Distance between those two Cities

is at least 250 Miles; and that those Succours marched with only what they had about them, as depending on their Magazines at *Oran*, where nothing was wanting. Mean while the *Spaniards* advanced; and (according to my verbal Intelligence here) the *Bey* was counselled to withdraw his Women, &c. to some Place distant from the Noise of an Army, which they had exceedingly magnified. This Counsel he unadvisedly took; and (as says his Excellency) Old Folks being always miserly, he not only mounted his whole Female Retinue on Mules, but also loaded 180 Camels with his Treasure and best Effects. The Towns- People, and Garisons, in the Castles seeing this, were in the greatest Consternation; and not thinking it safe to venture their Lives where their Governor durst not hazard his Women and Money, they also in a strange Confusion began to pack up to be gone. Amidst this Hurry (says his Excellency) the *French* Agent rode away to the *Spanish* General, telling him how Matters stood; and that, "except he laid hold on that Opportunity, and made an immediate Attack, he would find it very difficult to carry the Place when the *Algerine* Camp was come." Early in the Morning the *Spanish* Army came, and found the Whole in a manner empty: Part of it took Possession, while the Remainder engaged the *Bey's* Troops. The Master of an *English* Ship, who was commanded on board a *Spanish* Man of War he met on the Sea, spoke with some *English* Mariners in that Service, who told him, "That whatever the *Spaniards* might give out, they had lost at least 5000 Men the very Day they entered *Oran*, and among the best two whole Regiments of the very best Troops in the Army were intirely cut off, viz. one *French*, and a very fine *Irish* Regiment." It would have been to little Purpose for the *Algiers* Forces, in the naked Condition they then were, to have continued their hasty March for *Oran*, when, to their Amazement, they heard of its being in the Enemy's Possession. I cannot learn, nor indeed suppose, that they returned to *Algiers*; but it is most probable, that they retired towards *Mostaganem*, and sent to *Algiers* for a Supply. All the material News we now hear is, that the Conquerors are not suffered to be very quiet; nor do I believe they will be so as long as they keep what they have now got. The Embassador smiles at the Talk of adding *Mostaganem*, *Tenez*, and I know not what else, to their Conquests; but he laughs, with the utmost Disdain, at the

the continued Boasts of reinforcing the Army and marching to take *Algiers*. He heartily wishes they would do it; and I wish them well back again, if they are in earnest. As to the rest, he says, " That the *Turks* of *Algiers* have
 " been now for above twenty Years wallowing in Peace
 " and Plenty, and flattered themselves that none durst
 " attack them: That this is a Knock on the Pate to make
 " them open their drouzy Eyes, and look a little about
 " them: That they are not so much hated by the Natives,
 " whom they keep in Subjection with Iron Reins, but
 " that he is sure the *Spaniards* are much more hated and
 " detested; except it be, perhaps, by a few Scoundrels, who
 " are neither *Mussulmans* nor *Christians*, who shall be
 " rooted out from the Earth, even by their own Kindred
 " the *Arabs*, as they should have been long since, and
 " even all who durst hold the least Communication with
 " the *Spaniards* of *Oran*, had it not been for the abomina-
 " ble Avarice of their Western *Beys*, who used to take
 " annually from those *Arabs* two different Tributes, one to
 " let them sow their Corn, and the other to let them reap
 " it; without which the *Christians* in *Oran* could never
 " have subsisted; all which for the future will be quite o-
 " therwise managed: That the other *Arabs* were all along
 " prevented by the *Beys* from uniting to the Extermination
 " of these misbelieving *Mogottuzin*, merely on that Ac-
 " count: That *Spain* is not a Land of such Abundance as
 " easily to supply a constant Garison of 8, 10, or 12000
 " Soldiers, without which Force the *Spaniards* should
 " now find it a difficult Matter to hold an Inch of Ground
 " in their Country; and where particular Care will be
 " taken, that their Garison shall, from them, have very
 " little to feed on but Lead, Stones, Bomb-Shells, &c.
 " That infallibly the *Turks* will make what Strength
 " they can possibly raise, and have a Bout with them
 " the very succeeding Year; when the longest Sword
 " must carry it, and when undoubtedly there will be
 " many broken Sculls on both Sides: That the *Algerines*
 " (it is well known) want no Money for such Exigen-
 " cies, would they but break open their Hoards: And
 " that in case they are not able to unkennel them in one
 " Campaign, they will lay aside all other Business, and
 " coop them up till they are tired of their Lodgings."
 This is the Opinion of our *Algerines* now here, how all
 this mighty *Bustle* will in Reality terminate.

F I N I S.

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